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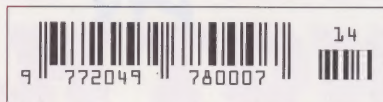
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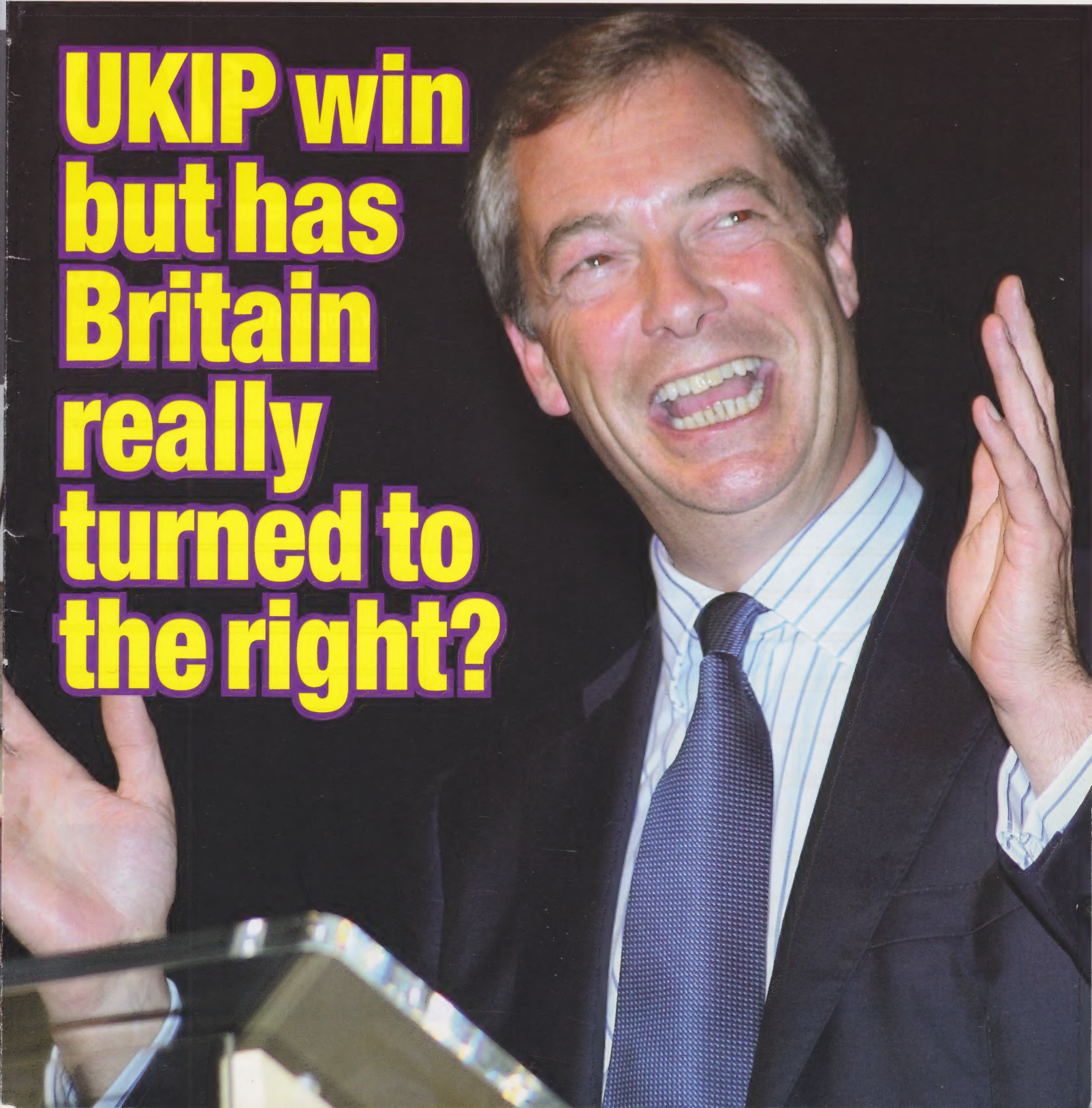
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# **H** **P** **not hate**

**UKIP win  
but has  
Britain  
really  
turned to  
the right?**





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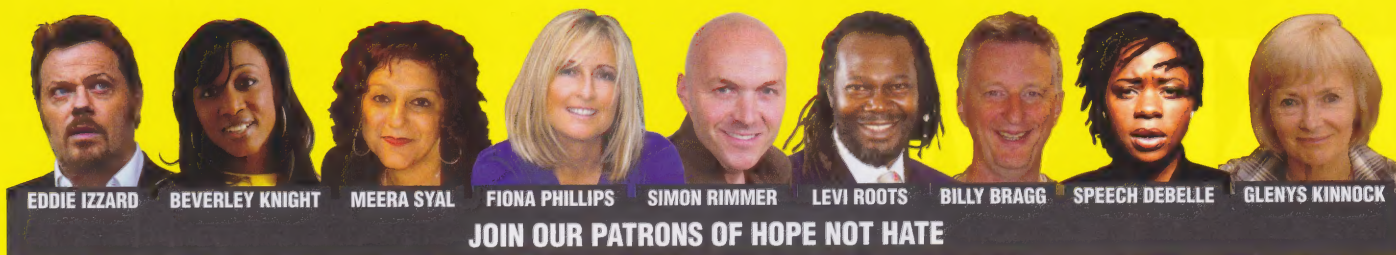


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# HOPE not hate

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anti-racist publication

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## Nick Lowles

**EDITOR**

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## Job done

IN LIGHT of the coverage of UKIP's performance in the recent European and local elections it is easy to forget the defeat of Nick Griffin and the political demise of the British National Party.

In 2009 the BNP had two people elected to the European Parliament, received 6.4% of the national vote and had 67 local councillors. The party believed it had broken into the political mainstream and that greater success was all but guaranteed. Five years later it is down to just two local councillors and as a party is a shadow of its former self.

HOPE not hate was established in response to the electoral rise of the BNP. We sought to engage in local communities and elections by exposing the racism of the BNP while offering a positive antidote to its hate. We can – and should – take a lot of credit for the BNP's demise. It was local HOPE not hate groups who turned the tide in the Burnleys, Oldhams and Bradfords of this world. It was a massive HOPE not hate campaign involving more than 1,500 people which helped defeat the BNP in Barking and Dagenham. And it was our research team which constantly fed the media the stories which undermined the BNP and led to many of its internal problems.

So, despite the new challenges we face with UKIP, let us take a moment to congratulate ourselves on a job done.

### NOT DUCKING THE FIGHT

Much of this issue is devoted to the electoral success of UKIP. While it is still too early to properly ascertain the full impact of these elections, the anti-

EU and increasingly anti-immigrant party did remarkably well. What is key is how we all respond.

There are some who believe it is wrong to call UKIP out for its racism as this only entrenches support for the party among those already attracted to it. There are others who believe that the answer is somehow to out-UKIP UKIP, by offering even more draconian policies on race and immigration.

We believe both strategies are wrong. While of course we need to be careful in how we take on UKIP, ignoring its attempts to whip up fear and hatred is both politically and morally wrong. Politically, by failing to pull them up on their racism we are normalising it and giving UKIP the respectability it craves. Morally, we would be failing as anti-racists if we turn a blind eye.

### SUPPORTING THE MOST VULNERABLE

HOPE not hate is backing a campaign to give protection to overseas domestic workers whose employment status leaves them open to abuse and exploitation from their employers.

The campaign, being led by Kayalaan, Justice for Domestic Workers and Unite, is calling on the government to repeal the 2012 visa system and revert back to the previous one introduced in 1998 which offered employment protection to migrant domestic workers.

It seems incredible that at a time when the Government is preparing legislation to deal with human trafficking and slavery across the world it is ignoring modern-day slavery in the UK.

I would urge everyone to visit our website and support the campaign. ●

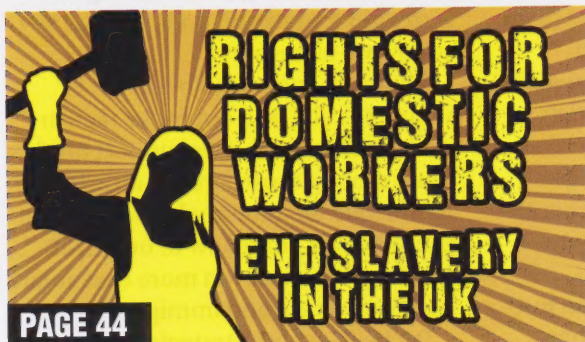


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### COUNTRY IN FOCUS BULGARIA ATAKA PLAYING ON RESENTMENT

**HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.**

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 80,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

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not hate**

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**NEW publication  
Britain First –  
Army of the Right  
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## CONTRIBUTORS



### PRAGNA PATEL

Pragna Patel, Director of the Southall Black Sisters, talks to HOPE not hate about their 30-year fight to improve the rights of BME women in West London.



### SUNDER KATWALA

British Future Director, Sunder Katwala, explains in Reaching the pragmatic middle the need ignore short-term pressures to turn right over immigration



### RUTH SMETH

HOPE not hate's Deputy Director Ruth Smeeth questions whether the 2014 were the political earthquake some have assumed



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## Show investigates the heart of multiculturalism

CHANNEL 5 is to broadcast a new TV series dedicated to multiculturalism in "one of the most diverse streets in Britain".

The aim of the show is to get to the heart of a multicultural community and discover how families from different backgrounds live, work and play together.

The series, called 100% British, is being filmed in Cheetham Hill, Manchester, one of the most multicultural places in the world according to the 2011 census. In just two square miles, 30 languages are spoken and there is a mix of mosques, Sikh gurdwaras, churches and synagogues.

"This is a great opportunity to look

at the long established immigrant communities on the edge of one of Britain's most multicultural cities. It will be an inspiring, humorous and uplifting look at the people of Cheetham Hill – an area people love and are deeply proud of," said Danny Horan, executive producer of Bafta-winning, The Garden Productions.

## Choudary follower skips bail for Syria



Abu Aziz

ANJEM CHOUDARY follower Abu Aziz has skipped bail in the UK and headed to Syria.

Aziz, from Luton, is believed to have left the country in March in the company of Junaid Hussain of Birmingham. He had been a regular at Choudary's demonstrations and was very active on the internet.

A month before he disappeared, Aziz posted a lecture on a social media site calling on Muslims to go to Syria.

He said: "Why is it that we have become blinded by the dunya [material world], that we don't see what is happening to our brothers and sisters in Bilaad al Shaam [Syria]? Just because they are far away from us it does not mean they are not our family."

HOPE not hate has estimated that as many as 20 extremists have gone to Syria from Luton.

## Nigerian man refuses new home after racist demo

A NIGERIAN disability aid worker has refused to move into his new Belfast home after a racist demonstration took place outside the property.

Michael Abiona discovered the house had been draped with banners reading: "Local Houses 4 Local People" and "We Need Homes 2" (sic). Five demonstrators



were also outside maintaining a picket of the property.

Fearing for his young son's safety Mr Abiona, who has lived in Northern Ireland for four years and works for the Cedar Foundation, supporting adults with learning disabilities, refuses to move into the house in the Garnerville area of Belfast.

Mr Abiona was allocated the house by the Housing Executive as he has osteoarthritis, which causes painful bone degeneration.

Michael Abiona is active in race relations in Northern Ireland and serves in a number of key roles in the Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Minorities and the Nigerian Association.



Janni Haggerty: beaten up by her drunk pals

## Wheel drops off

THE BRITISH Movement held a two-day nazi festival last month but the event flopped. Only 50-60 people turned up for the Sunwheel event, held on Humberside.

Worse still, the weekend was overshadowed by a fight between two women from the North West, which began after one of the women was accused of getting drunk while leaving her baby alone in the sun to get burnt.

## Racially abused man turns other cheek

A BRADFORD man who was racially abused turned the other cheek and has helped his racist abuser find a job and a home.

Aminur Chowdhury was racially abused by homeless drunk Ben Gallon outside a public house in Bradford in May. However, instead of the situation taking a turn for the worse Mr Chowdhury spoke to his abuser and shared a drink with him.

Mr Chowdhury has since helped Mr Gallon find a job in a call centre and has found him rented accommodation.

"This is a great way of teaching Asian people across Bradford of how to respond to racism. The more love you show, the more endeared they will be to you. I'm proud of my upbringing and I'm a proud Bradfordian and Englishman," said Mr Chowdhury.



"I was targeted for racist abuse but a great way of overcoming racism is to show some tolerance. Initially I turned the other cheek but then I was challenging Ben about what he had said to me. I stopped and had a chat with him for about 15 minutes. I went back to see him the following day to tell him he had been offered a job. I care for him, it's a positive story."



## EDL bomb plotters fail with sentence appeal

A GROUP of men who were jailed for planning to bomb an EDL rally in Dewsbury, West Yorkshire have failed in their attempt to have their jail sentences cut.

The six men from the West Midlands lodged an appeal at the High Court based on the claim that they were treated harsher than their non-Muslim counterparts.

The Islamic extremists travelled to the demonstration in June 2012 heavily armed with firearms, swords, knives and – chillingly – a nail bomb and pipe bomb.

Jewel Uddin, Omar Mohammed Khan, and Zohaib Ahmed were ordered to serve 19 years and six months each with five years on extended licence.

Mohammed Hasseen, Anzal Hussain, and Mohammed Saud were ordered to serve 18 years and nine months each with five years extended licence.

## Britain First unmasked

HOPE NOT HATE has produced a new report into Britain First, currently Britain's biggest far right group.

It is the first detailed expose into the group, revealing its origins, key activists and its phenomenal reach on social media.



HOPE not hate research special

**Britain First – Army of the Right can be purchased for £4.00 inc p&p from [www.hopenothate.org.uk/shop](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/shop)**

## Campaigning for workers' rights



LAST MONTH saw HOPE not hate support a campaign to restore protection to overseas domestic workers, who have been left highly exposed to abuse by a change in visa rules.

Almost 10,000 HOPE not hate supporters signed a petition, which was handed into the Prime Minister.

The campaign (explained on page 44) is being organised by the domestic workers' support group, Kayalaan, the Justice for Domestic Workers and Unite.

HOPE not hate will continue to build the petition over the summer and is encouraging its supporters to lobby their MPs.

## Racist arsonist jailed

A CONVICTED racist who set fire to home of three Asian men was jailed for four years in June.

John Hoggan (pictured) from Alloa had been drinking heavily before the attack when he launched a petrol bomb at the property, close to his own home.

The three victims narrowly escaped with their lives after one of the men woke up and realised the house was filling with flames and smoke.

Hoggan was found guilty of endangering the men's lives by wilful fire raising, with malice aforethought. In addition to the prison sentence, Hoggan was also handed a two-year extended sentence to "protect the



public" on his release and banned from contacting the target of his attack, Tara Singh, for eight years.

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at [www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/) scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Special feature: Euro-elections 2014 page 10





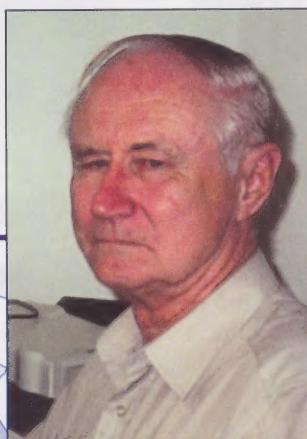
## CANADA | Judge blocks will for neo-nazis

SOURCE: FORWARD

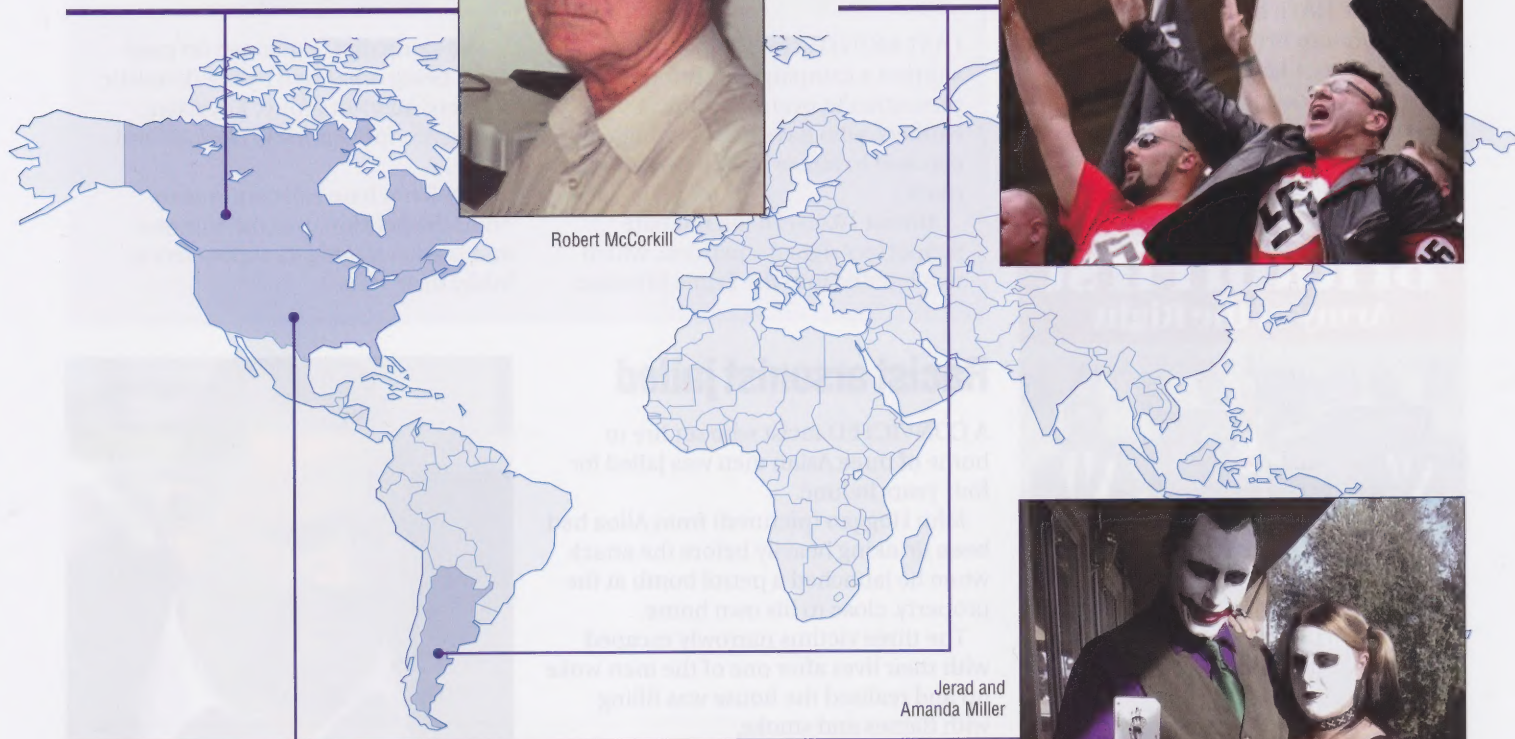
A CANADIAN judge has quashed the will of a man who bequeathed his estate to a US nazi group. A court in New Brunswick ruled that the National Alliance (NA) cannot inherit the estate of Robert McCorkill because such a bequest is counter to Canadian public policy.

Even before he died in 2004, McCorkill, a one-time NA member, left his entire estate to the NA. His assets included a valuable coin collection, Nazi memorabilia and, reportedly, a human skull. In his decision, the judge voided the will, ruling that the written materials of the National Alliance were “racist, white-supremacist and hate-inspired,” and that the group “stands for principles and policies [...] that are both illegal and contrary to public policy in Canada.” While McCorkill’s bequest does not advocate violence, it “would unavoidably lead to violence because the NA, in its communications, both advocates and supports its use by others of like mind, such as skinheads,” the judge ruled. The bequest, he added, is “repugnant” because the NA’s goals and methods “are criminal in Canada.”

A retired chemistry professor, McCorkill was recruited into the NA in 1998 and later lived at its compound in West Virginia, where he edited the final book written by its founder William Pierce, author of the infamous far-right screed, *The Turner Diaries*.



Robert McCorkill



## ARGENTINA | WJC Voices Concern About Neo-Nazi Party In Argentina

SOURCE: EUROPEAN JEWISH PRESS

THE WORLD Jewish Congress (WJC) has voiced concern about the official registration of a nazi party in Argentina.

Bandera Vecinal, or ‘Local Flag’ in English, a fascist organisation led by Alejandro Biondini, was recently approved as a political party and is expected to run in the 2015 presidential elections, having signed up the required 4,000 members.

“This ugly party espouses the ideology and revels in the trappings of the Hitler regime, and it should be banned, shunned and isolated, not accepted into politics,” said WJC resident Ronald Lauder.

DAIA, the Jewish political representative group in Argentina, said Biondini “has publicly and repeatedly supported the figure of Adolf Hitler and Nazism”. In 1988, Biondini led chants of “Death to traitors, cowards and Jews” at a gathering of extreme-rightists in Buenos Aires.

“It is troubling that an openly neo-Nazi party can arise in this country. It’s inconsistent with the culture of acceptance and diversity among the Argentine people, whose country served as refuge for victims of the Nazi regime, a regime Biondini reveres,” said Claudio Epelman, Executive Director of the Latin American Jewish Congress, the Argentine-based arm of WJC.



## USA | Nazi cop killers

SOURCE: TIME

THE KILLERS who shot two Las Vegas police officers on 8 June draped a US Revolutionary-era flag and a Nazi swastika over one of the bodies. Authorities in the city described the killers as espousing views and carrying symbols that were “undoubtedly” white supremacist in nature.

The two suspects who killed a third

civilian before taking their own lives draped a so-called Gadsden flag emblazoned with the words “don’t tread on me” over the body of one officer, and also placed on top of it a swastika and a note promising a “revolution,” assistant sheriff Kevin McMahon told reporters.

“There’s no doubt the suspects have some apparent ideology that’s along the lines of militia and white supremacists,” McMahon told a news conference. But police cautioned that the shooters,



identified as married couple Jerad and Amanda Miller, may not sympathise with the Nazi movement, and in fact seemed to associate the police with Nazi oppression.



## Guest column...

# A political earthquake or a warning shot to the political elite?

Ruth Smeeth

ON THE FACE of it and based on the media coverage since the European and local elections on 22 May, the world as we know it is over. It's the end of three party politics in the UK, the country as a whole has shifted right and Nigel Farage is our new political saviour, here to save us from ourselves and that evil bureaucracy that is the European Union. While that may be the accepted truth, I'm not at all convinced the reality looks anything like that.

In the European elections only 34% of people actually voted. Of those 27% of people voted for UKIP, that's 4,376,635 people. I'm not dismissing their vote, but of the people who could have voted last month only 8% voted for UKIP, which means that over 90% of the country has managed to ignore the march of the People's Army. Not exactly a national mandate!

The reality is the real winner in this year's elections was none of the above. Of those who voted, an overwhelming majority voted for other parties, but we need to face the unpalatable truth – not enough people thought these elections important enough to vote in. So it's hardly the beginning of the end of the world as we know it, but rather a very loud wake up call for those of us fundamentally opposed to the vision of the country UKIP espouse.

The important questions are: who voted for UKIP, who didn't vote at all and what do we need to do? All of which require a lot more research which is what HOPE not hate did against the BNP in 2004 and what we'll do again with UKIP.

## A political vacuum versus a political movement

One of the most important aspects of the election was the different turnout between local elections and the European elections. Where there were local council elections on the same day, voter turnout was significantly higher. For example in Stoke-on-Trent voter turnout was the lowest in the West Midlands at 23%, but in neighbouring Newcastle-under-Lyme turnout, while low, was significantly higher at 32% and this enhanced level of turnout is repeated across the country.

Local elections meant foot soldiers on the ground to get the vote out, it meant politics on the ground, leafleting, door knocking and proper community campaigning (in a lot of places) as opposed to the areas that solely had European elections, which were broadly operating in a political vacuum.

This lack of political engagement meant that no-one other than the hundreds of HOPE not hate volunteers the length and breadth of the country were challenging the UKIP story, nor were local politicians doing what they do best – speaking to their communities. And then we're surprised that a party which had captured the public mood through a combination of populist policies and a very favourable media environment did so well?

All of these factors allowed UKIP to dominate the political agenda and set the terms for the debate, both nationally and locally, and there were few people on the ground to challenge it. Because



how do you campaign against a movement, a feeling, or a slogan?

The situation was totally different where there were local elections. In one of the areas where I campaigned this year for the locals, UKIP put out six different leaflets in one ward trying to decapitate a very popular local councillor. Their leaflets were vile, toxic and poisonous, worse than many BNP leaflets, exploiting people's fears and attempting to play on people's dislike of the political class. But their activity meant that we could rebut directly, challenge them on the doorstep and make sure that their poison had no place in our community. At the count UKIP only managed to get less than 20% of the vote.

## So what do we do next?

If it was straightforward and simple we would have done it already. But we need to work together to come up with local

solutions and build a grassroots response which will undermine their very vision of the UK.

But what we don't do is try to out-UKIP UKIP. We need to work with all the political parties to try and stop them from veering to the right because they are scared of their own shadows.

We also need to do our homework – we think we know who voted for UKIP, but a much more important thing to know is who didn't and why not, once we know we can try and get them to vote for someone else!

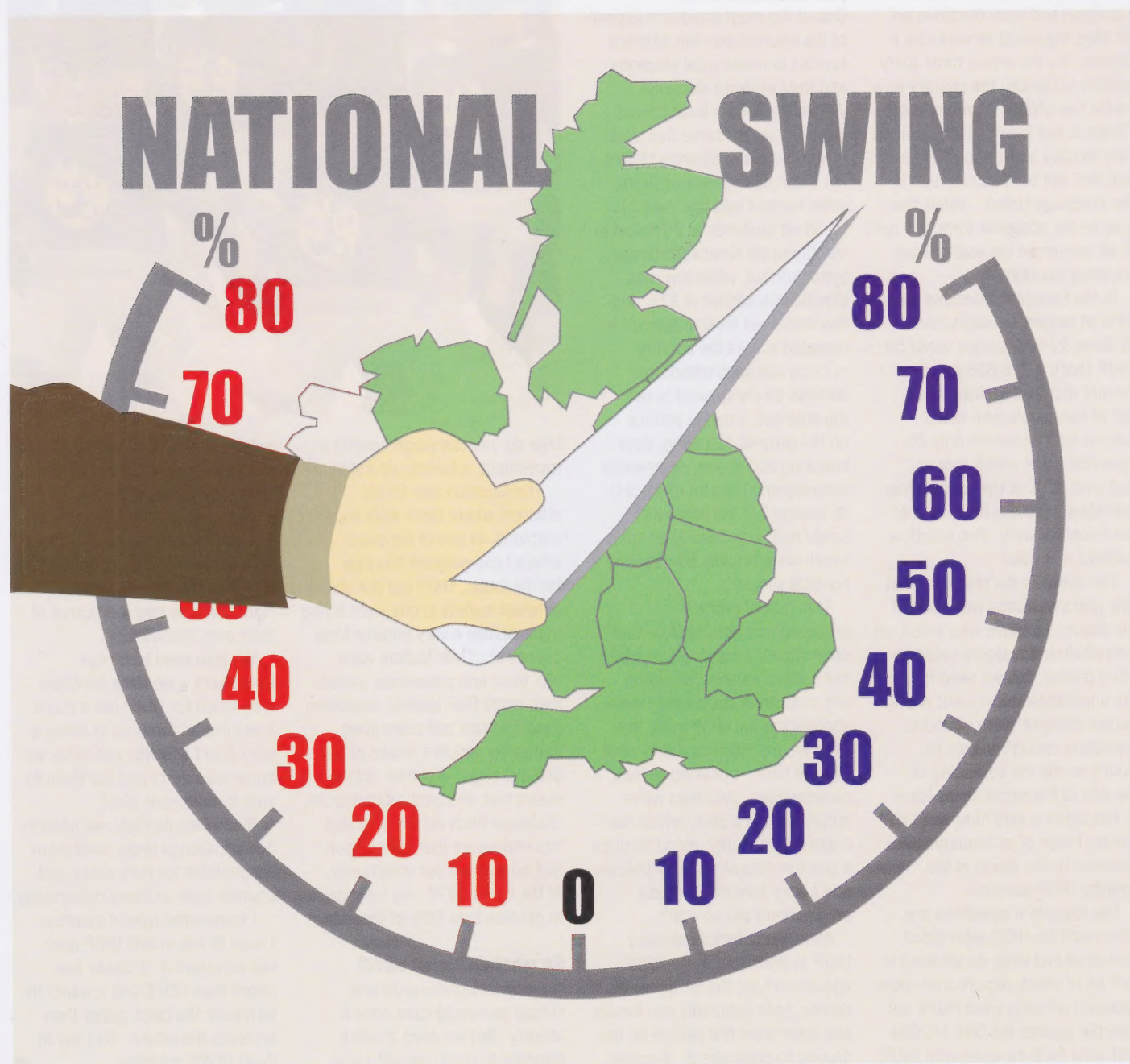
But, fundamentally, we need to do is challenge them, hold them accountable for their views and counter them at every opportunity.

I know what type of country I want to live in and UKIP does not represent it. It seeks fear rather than HOPE and it wants to turn back the clock rather than embrace the future. So I say to them HOPE not hate.



# UKIP win, but has Britain swung right?

Nick Lowles assesses the 2014 local and European elections





**I**t was widely perceived as a “political earthquake”. UKIP won the European elections by quite some margin and gained 161 new councillors.

UKIP leader Nigel Farage described the elections as “the most extraordinary result in British politics in the past century” and confidently predicted that the right-wing anti-EU and anti-immigrant party was set for parliamentary seats in next year’s General Election.

“Never before in the history of British politics has a party seen to be an insurgent party ever topped the polls in a national election”, Farage added.

He then predicted, rather arrogantly that “we may well see one party leader forced out of his position and another to reconsider his policy of opposition to a referendum on Europe, and David Cameron will have to take a much tougher negotiating stance. It is now not beyond the bounds of possibility that we hold the balance of power in another hung parliament.”

The results were certainly impressive. UKIP came first in the European elections with 27.49% of the vote. As a result they secured 24 MEPs, an increase of 11 from 2009. The party also won 161 seats in council elections, at a 14% share of the national vote in the local elections, taking its total representation in local government to 383.

With the exception of London, UKIP polled well across England and even received 27% of the vote in Wales. Unsurprisingly, it attracted only 15% in Scotland, but even this was enough to gain its first MEP north of the border.

UKIP polled above 40% in 22 local authority areas in the European elections. In Boston they polled 51% of the vote. Of the 22 councils, 19 were Conservative-held before the election.

Of the 161 council gains, UKIP had 10 councillors elected in Basildon and Great Yarmouth, nine in Rotherham and seven each in North East Lincolnshire and Dudley.

The party has formed a coalition with Independents to run Castle Point council and it attempted to form a coalition with the Residents Association to run Havering Council.

London stood out though. With 17% of the vote in the European elections, UKIP polled considerably worse here than the rest of the country, and it only took 7% of the local election vote in the capital, half of what it achieved across the rest of the country.

#### The UKIP voter

According to YouGov, the UKIP supporter base is more likely to be male than female, is older, has lower educational qualifications and reads the *Express*, *Mail* and *Sun*. Many are in the social groups C2, D, E who voted Conservative in 2010.

By comparison, the groups least likely to have voted for UKIP include: households where the main income was above £30,000, university graduates, Daily Mirror readers, those under 40, BAME communities and those who voted Labour in 2010.

According to Lord Ashcroft’s survey of 4,000 voters in the elections, 51% of those people who voted for UKIP had voted for the Conservative Party in the 2010 General Election, compared to 20% who had voted Lib Dem and 15% Labour.

It is clear that people voted for UKIP

for a variety of reasons, though three key themes were opposition to the European Union, a belief that mainstream parties do not represent them and, most importantly, an unease about immigration.

Among UKIP voters, 83% rate immigration and asylum as an important issue facing the country, compared to 53% in society overall (source: YouGov), while only a third mentioned Europe.

For some UKIP supporters there is simply a desire to block further immigration, but for many there is a more profound opposition to immigration. A YouGov poll in late April found that 51% of UKIP voters think immigrants and their families (including those born here) should be encouraged to leave Britain, compared to 26% of the country overall.

According to YouGov’s Peter Kellner: “UKIP has benefited from three political boosts: the collapse in support for the BNP; the decision of the Liberal Democrats to join the coalition (which left UKIP as the most obvious destination for protest votes); and the fact that the Conservatives are in government, for support for governing parties tends to fall in European Parliament elections, when the opportunity for voters to ‘send a message’ is enhanced by a proportional voting system.”

**Table 1 European election results by region**

Region	UKIP	Con	Lab	LibDem	Green	BNP	Plaid	SNP	Others
Eastern	34.5	28.4	17.3	6.9	8.5	0.8			3.8
East Midlands	32.9	26	24.9	5.4	6.0	1.6			3.1
London	16.9	22.5	36.7	6.7	8.9	0.9			7.4
North East	29.2	17.7	36.5	5.9	5.2	1.7			3.8
North West	27.5	20.1	33.9	6.0	7.0	1.9			3.7
South East	32.1	30.9	14.7	8.0	9.1	0.7			4.4
South West	32.3	28.9	13.7	10.7	11.1	0.7			2.1
West Midlands	31.5	24.3	26.7	5.6	5.3	1.5			5.1
Yorkshire & the Humber	31.1	19.2	29.3	6.3	7.9	1.6			4.7
Scotland	10.5	17.2	25.9	7.1	8.1	0.8		29.0	1.5
Wales	27.6	17.4	28.1	3.9	4.5	1.0	15.3		2.1



However, YouGov research shows that the anger of voters is not as strong as it was in 2009. Fewer people want to leave the EU compared to five years ago (40% in 2009, 35% now) and there has been a 7% increase in the view that immigration has benefited the UK. The 2009 European Elections were contested against the backdrop of the expenses scandal, so it is perhaps unsurprising to see that voters have a less hostile attitude to politicians today.

"Yes, UKIP has exploited a cry of rage against the things that are wrong with Britain today," Kellner adds, "but that rage is less intense than it was five years ago."

**Table 2 Euro vote by local authority**

Local authority	%
Boston	51.6%
South Holland	48.5%
Tendring	48.4%
Castle Point	47.8%
Fenland	47.3%
Teignbridge	46.7%
Thanet	46.0%
Thurrock	45.9%
Forest Heath	45.8%
Great Yarmouth	45.2%
Basildon	44.8%
East Lindsey	44.2%
Havering	43.6%
Rochford	43.4%
Shepway	43.3%
Swale	43.3%
Torbay	43.2%
Arun	42.6%
Breckland	42.2%
Kings Lynn & West Norfolk	41.6%
Gravesham	41.5%
Broxbourne	41.4%
Medway	41.2%
North East Lincs	41.2%
Rotherham	41.0%
Isle of Wight	40.9%
Maldon	40.9%
Dartford	40.8%
South Staffordshire	40.7%
Epping Forest	40.3%

**Table 3 Council gains**

Local authority	Gains
Basildon	10
Great Yarmouth	10
Rotherham	9
Dudley	7
North East Lincolnshire	7
Portsmouth	6
Havering	6

The key, of course, is that the UKIP voter was more motivated to turn out than the average voter and so the challenge for the main political parties is how to encourage non-voters to vote.

### The 2014 HOPE not hate campaign

HOPE not hate ran its biggest election campaign to date. A staggering 2.35m newspapers and leaflets were distributed across the length and breadth of the country, far exceeding anything we have done before.

Central to our campaign was the production of 41 different versions of a tabloid newspaper, each customised for local areas.

In addition to delivering material in our traditional areas, the national threat of UKIP meant action took place in dozens of new areas, particularly in the Midlands and the south east.

Our big weekend of action saw 130 people turn out in Bradford, over 70 in Manchester and 55 in Brighton. The 95 events were surpassed by the 130 leafleting sessions we organised for Transport Tuesday.

In addition to this, we even had an eight-page supplement inside the Daily Mirror, which was funded by almost 600 of our supporters.

We attempted to address our material for different audiences, with much of the focus being trying to explain why anger at migrant workers was misdirected.

### Did anti-UKIP campaigning work?

There was much debate in the media over whether the attacks on UKIP and the exposes of racist candidates and officials had any effect or, indeed, were counter-productive. Among those who pushed this line were Matthew Goodwin, Tim Montgomery and Douglas Murray.

Of course, it is impossible to quantify the impact of leaflets and media stories and separating these out from the general political environment of an election campaign, but new polling from YouGov suggests the number of people liking UKIP has actually fallen from 2009, which seems to suggest that the attacks on UKIP worked among the population as a whole.

A YouGov survey of 32,000 voters in the 2009 European elections found that 28% had a 'positive' attitude towards UKIP, while 37% had a 'negative' view. A similar poll conducted in 2014 found that only 22% had a 'positive' attitude towards UKIP, while 53% had a negative attitude.

According to YouGov, UKIP secured the support of fewer than half the voters who felt positively about it in 2009, with the rest voting Conservative or BNP – or Labour, Green or Liberal Democrat.

In 2014, however, UKIP won the support of almost three-quarters of those who felt positive about it and, more importantly, those who felt more positive towards UKIP were more energised to vote.

The substantial increase in the numbers viewing UKIP negatively, coupled with the 30% decline in those not offering an opinion, seems to suggest that the anti-UKIP stories in the media and grassroots campaign has had a considerable impact on public opinion.

It is also worth noting that UKIP performed less well in the north west than in any other region of England outside London. Its vote was lower and only six of the party's 161 council gains were made in the region. There might be many factors for this, one of which being that over 650,000 anti-UKIP/BNP newspapers and leaflets were distributed by HOPE not hate and Unison in the preceding five months.

The debate about electoral strategies fought out on Twitter and the blogs was quite surreal, largely because it was being driven by people who have never actually run political campaigns. It is never a question of either/or, as any successful political campaign will use a combination of strategies which can fluctuate depending on circumstances and tailored for specific audiences. For example, in this case, the message to 'soft UKIP' supporters will be quite different than that used to talk to people who are very likely to be strongly opposed to UKIP. For the former one focuses on dispelling myths about migrant workers and exposing UKIP's ludicrous policies; for the latter it is absolutely vital to expose their racism and scapegoating agenda.

### Does Labour have a UKIP problem?

On the surface it would appear that UKIP affects the Conservative Party far more than it does Labour. Most of those voting UKIP are people who voted Conservative in 2010 and 13 of the top 15 local authorities where UKIP secured their largest votes in the European elections are Conservative-held.

This has led some Labour politicians to publicly state that UKIP's rise was good news for Labour and would help them win the General Election.

However, on closer inspection the evidence is not so clear cut. In some areas of the country - such as North East Lincolnshire - UKIP hurt Labour more than it did the Conservatives. In others, such as Thurrock, it appears that UKIP hurt the two main parties equally.

Secondly, while only 10% of people who voted UKIP in the European Elections voted Labour in 2010, many of



the working class Tory vote that switched this time had voted Labour in 1997. If Labour is to win a majority at the next election it will need to attract back some of these voters or at least compensate for their loss by attracting new and non-voters.

As Table 4 shows, there are several constituencies where UKIP polled sufficiently well in the local elections to suggest that it will be a serious contender in next summer's election. Among the key targets will be Great Grimsby, Thurrock, Great Yarmouth, Thanet South and Dudley North.

In addition to seats it hopes to win, the strength of UKIP vote and which party it takes most from could alter the outcome of several key marginal seats.

Finally, UKIP's long-term plans will adversely affect Labour. UKIP appears to recognise that in the short term it will be more successful in Conservative marginals but the hope is to replace the Lib Dems as the alternative to Labour in its northern heartlands. To this end, it will be prioritising council elections in the north of England for the next couple of years in order to build a local government base from which it can really challenge Labour.

### Responding to UKIP

One of the fears we had going into these elections was the response of the mainstream parties to a UKIP victory. Sure enough, in the days that followed the vote, several Government ministers announced plans to further tighten immigration policies and migrant access to benefits. While Ed Miliband has stated his refusal to out-UKIP UKIP, several Labour MPs signed an open letter calling on the party to block further EU migration into Britain.

HOPE not hate urges extreme caution over this approach. A majority of UKIP voters hold such negative views on immigration and the main political parties generally it is hard to see what Labour can do to win these voters back. By lurching to the right to appease UKIP voters Labour will also risk alienating the vast majority of its voters who totally reject the UKIP message.

While Labour needs to address some of the underlying issues which give rise to support to UKIP – such as job insecurity and pessimism about the future – it also needs to recognise that Britain is becoming a more diverse and multicultural society, and while there are anxieties over the rate of immigration we are a more tolerant and open society than a generation ago.

With YouGov research into attitudes towards UKIP showing only 22% of the

## Why we took on UKIP



Nigel Farage  
Photo: European  
Parliament

AT THE BEGINNING of this year HOPE not hate took the decision to take UKIP on in these elections. We knew we faced an uphill struggle and from the outset believed that UKIP would come first, but we believed that our credibility as anti-racists would have been called into question if we had not taken this path.

We have always argued that UKIP is not a fascist organisation and Nigel Farage is certainly not Nick Griffin, but its increasing use of anti-immigrant rhetoric put the party in our sights.

Last year HOPE not hate conducted a survey of its supporters and concluded that it was best to expose racists within UKIP and promote the diverse society that many of them opposed. We did, however, agree to review this position at the end of the year.

By the time we had reviewed our position, the situation had worsened.

UKIP was both increasing its use of anti-immigrant rhetoric but, more importantly, deliberately stoking up public anger through exaggeration and misinformation, such as their wild claims about the numbers of Bulgarians and Romanians likely to come to Britain at the beginning of the year.

UKIP's turn to the right was confirmed at the party's spring conference where Farage made a Powell-esque speech about not recognising modern Britain and the absence of spoken English on his commuter train from London to Kent.

The political editor of *The Sun*, Tom Newton Dunn, tweeted: "He's purposely pushed the boat out on foreigner hatred to try to pull in more Labour blue collar, but it sounds ugly. Too BNP."

UKIP was deliberately whipping up fear - and by extension hatred - of foreigners. Believing otherwise was, at best, just politically naive or - at worst - giving UKIP leaders a credibility and respectability they desperately sought.

However, we were always very careful not to say that all UKIP voters were racist. Some obviously are, but others are not. And we were always aware that often economic pessimism drove fear and hate in people, hence much of our anti-UKIP material focused on providing alternative answers to the economic and social issues that UKIP exploited.

Ten years ago, some people argued that it was wrong to take on the BNP and focus on their racism, believing that it would entrench positions and enhance the party's image. We disputed this and we believe that events have proved us right. We took on the BNP and bit by bit chipped away at its credibility and support.

While UKIP is a very different beast to the BNP we believe that the same argument applies. By ignoring UKIP's racism we would be guilty of normalising it and abandoning those at the receiving end.





**Table 4 Votes by Constituency**

Constituency	Con	Lab	LD	UKIP	Notes
Thurrock	6215	8383	759	9986	There was one ward in the constituency where there was no local election
South Basildon & East Thurrock	4816	4277	285	6027	There were 4 wards in the constituency where there were no local elections
Dudley North	4925	7439	DNS	8086	
Dudley South	5607	6559	DNS	6431	
Rotherham	876	9873	DNS	10467	The Conservatives only contested 3 of the 7 wards
Great Grimsby	2963	4716	2418	6104	The Conservatives and Lib Dems both failed to stand in one ward
Great Yarmouth	5858	6308	DNS	8909	There were 4 wards in the constituency where there were no local elections
Portsmouth North	7411	5249	3757	6928	
Plymouth Moor View	6515	8504	DNS	9079	
Rother Valley	3170	9496	DNS	10935	The Conservatives only contested 5 of the 8 wards
Penistone & Stocksbridge	3761	7463	2367	8842	The Conservatives failed to stand in one ward and the Lib Dem three wards

**Table 5 10 constituencies to watch in 2015**

Great Grimsby
Thanet South
Great Yarmouth
Thurrock
South Basildon & East Thurrock
Rotherham
Dudley North
Portsmouth South
Plymouth Moor View
Boston & Skegness

population viewing UKIP positively compared to 53% who view them negatively, it seems nonsensical for political parties to have policies dictated by a minority view.

"Although UKIP competition creates a short-term demand for restrictive migration policies, such policies may cause problems in the longer run," say academics Anthony Heath and Rob Ford, who co-authored the latest British Social Attitudes study.

"Advocating strongly restrictive immigration policies risks alienating the more liberal third of the population – and given constraints on policy and high political distrust, may not convince the most anti-immigration voters anyway. Moreover, long-term demographic change is moving society in the opposite direction, because the most pro-migration social groups – university graduates and professionals – are steadily growing while the most anti-migrant groups – unskilled manual workers and those with no qualifications – are in sharp decline."

Much more important will be to focus on re-engaging with the huge numbers of people who are not currently voting, especially from groups in society who are likely to be opposed to UKIP's racist agenda.

Turnout for the European elections was 34.19%, which means that UKIP won the support of just 8.5% of the electorate.

In Thurrock, it is estimated that there will be an additional 2,000 more BME adults in 2015 than in 2010, but there is currently no specific attempts by any of the political parties to engage, register and recruit these potential voters.

Likewise, in Cardiff Central, there are 17,000 students and yet there appears to be little specific work done to engage with them.

### Earthquake or tremor?

Were the elections the earthquake some claimed?

Yes and no. Coming first in the European elections (and by some margin) was a huge victory for UKIP and firmly established it as a major political force. However, its 14% vote in the local elections shows the fragility of its vote when voters believe there is something important at stake. This is only likely to grow at the General Election, when there will also be considerably more people voting.

It is also worth noting that UKIP's local election was also lower than it achieved last year, when the county councils were being contested.

In truth it is too early to ascertain the impact of these elections. How many of the people who voted UKIP will stay with the party in the future, particularly given the two-party nature of Britain's first-past-the-post electoral system? Can UKIP build the organisational infrastructure to really turn its plan to become the opposition to Labour in the north of England into a reality? How will the main political parties respond to UKIP's challenge?

Only when the answers to these three questions become clear will we really be able to put these elections in context.

One thing is clear, however, and that is HOPE not hate will build on its 2014 campaign and build an organisation that can defend and promote Britain's multicultural society.

## The political demise of the far right

THE 2014 ELECTIONS were an unmitigated disaster for Britain's far right groups. Nick Griffin lost his European seat in the North West and nationally the BNP secured just 179,694 votes, a 1.14% share, down from the 6.4% they received in 2009.

The BNP stood just 110 candidates in this year's local elections, compared to 373 in 2010, the last time these seats were contested. The party retained one councillor in Pendle but failed to win any others.

Only seven of the BNP candidates polled above 10% and only one of these reached 20% in Burnley.

In the three wards it contested in Barking and Dagenham, where the BNP was once the official opposition, the party gained 2.3%, 3% and 7.2%. In a ward which the BNP had held twice in neighbouring Havering, its candidate polled just 2.3%.

Other far right parties fared even worse. The British Democratic Party, formed by disillusioned BNP activists and organisers, had long targeted these local elections as its opportunity to replace the BNP in local communities. However, riven by splits and a highly ineffective leadership, the BDP stood only seven candidates across the country, only one of whom received above 10% of the vote.

The next issue of HOPE not hate will look more closely at where the far right will go now.



**SPECIAL OFFER FOR HOPE NOT HATE READERS**

# WHITE RIOT

The first edition of White Riot appeared in 2002 and charted the rise and fall of the nazi terror group, Combat 18. With the death of Chris Castle and the imprisonment of Charlie Sargent it had appeared that C18 was finished. Twelve years later and this new edition proves otherwise. While C18 is pretty much dormant in the UK, the organisation is still very much alive across Europe.

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- How C18 now operates in over 20 countries
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- Belgium C18's plot to kill leading politicians
- German C18 links to the NSU killers
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NICK LOWLES

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# UKIP

Research by  
*Simon Cressy*

Local Authority	2014 gains	Total
<b>South West</b>		
1 Cornwall Unitary Council	0	6
2 Devon County Council	0	4
3 Torbay Unitary Council	0	1
4 Teignbridge District Council	0	1
5 Plymouth City Council	3	3
6 Somerset County Council	0	3
7 Bristol City Council	1	1
8 Dorset County Council	0	1
9 Poole Borough Council	0	1
10 Weymouth & Portland Borough Council	1	1
11 Wiltshire Unitary Council	0	1
12 Gloucestershire County Council	0	3
13 South Gloucestershire District Council	0	1
14 Forest of Dean District Council	0	1

<b>South East</b>		
15 Buckinghamshire County Council	0	6
16 Aylesbury Vale District Council	0	3
17 Milton Keynes Borough Council	1	1
18 Wycombe District Council	0	1
19 Chiltern District Council	0	1
20 Windsor & Maidenhead Borough Council	0	2
21 Bracknell Forest Council	0	2
22 Slough Borough Council	1	1
23 Hampshire County Council	0	10
24 Rushmoor Borough Council	1	3
25 New Forest District Council	0	2
26 Basingstoke and Deane Borough Council	1	1
27 Portsmouth City Council	6	6
28 Fareham Borough Council	1	1
29 Gosport Borough Council	1	1
30 Havant Borough Council	2	2
31 West Sussex County Council	0	10
32 Horsham District Council	0	1
33 Adur District Council	5	6
34 Worthing District Council	1	1
35 Crawley Borough Council	0	1
36 East Sussex County Council	0	7
37 Lewes District Council	0	2
38 Hastings Borough Council	0	1
39 Surrey County Council	0	3
40 Runnymede Borough Council	0	1
41 Waverley Borough Council	0	3
42 Reigate & Banstead Borough Council	1	1
43 Mole Valley Borough Council	1	1
44 South Oxfordshire District Council	0	1
45 Kent County Council	0	17
46 Tunbridge Wells District Council	0	2
47 Thanet District Council	0	2
48 Canterbury City Council	0	2
49 Sevenoaks District Council	0	1
50 Swale Borough Council	0	1
51 Maidstone Borough Council	4	4
52 Isle of Wight Unitary Council	0	2

<b>London</b>		
53 Havering Borough Council	6	7
54 Bromley Borough Council	2	2
55 Bexley Borough Council	3	3

<b>Eastern</b>		
56 Essex County Council	0	9
57 Basildon Borough Council	10	12
58 Thurrock Unitary Authority	5	6
59 Epping Forest District Council	2	2
60 Southend-on-Sea Unitary Authority	5	5
61 Rochford District Council	3	3
62 Castle Point District Council	5	5
63 Harlow District Council	5	5
64 Suffolk County Council	0	9
65 St. Edmundsbury Borough Council	0	1
66 Norfolk County Council	0	14
67 North Norfolk District Council	0	1
68 King's Lynn Borough Council	0	1
69 Great Yarmouth Borough Council	10	10
70 Cambridgeshire County Council	0	12
71 Huntingdonshire District Council	3	7
72 Peterborough City Council	3	3
73 Broxbourne Borough Council	1	1

<b>Yorkshire &amp; the Humber</b>		
74 North Yorkshire County Council	0	2
75 Scarborough Borough Council	0	1
76 Richmondshire District Council	0	1
77 Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council	9	10
78 Sheffield Metropolitan Borough Council	3	3
79 Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council	1	1
80 North East Lincolnshire Borough Council	7	8
81 Wakefield Metropolitan District Council	2	2
82 Bradford Metropolitan District Council	1	1
83 Kingston upon Hull Metro. District Council	1	1

<b>East Midlands</b>		
84 Lincolnshire County Council	0	11
85 East Lindsey District Council	0	2
86 Boston Borough Council	0	1
87 Leicestershire County Council	0	2
88 Blaby District Council	0	2
89 Northamptonshire County Council	0	3
90 Northampton Borough Council	0	1
91 Kettering Borough Council	0	1
92 Daventry District Council	2	3
93 Rutland Unitary Authority	0	3
94 Derby City Council	2	2

<b>West Midlands</b>		
95 Staffordshire County Council	0	2
96 East Staffordshire Borough Council	0	1
97 Cannock Chase District Council	4	6
98 Newcastle-under-Lyme District Council	5	5
99 Tamworth Borough Council	1	1
100 Redditch Borough Council	0	1
101 Worcestershire County Council	0	2
102 Malvern District Council	0	1
103 Wyre Forest District Forest	5	5
104 Dudley Metropolitan Borough Council	7	9
105 Wolverhampton Metro. Borough Council	1	1
106 Walsall Metropolitan District Council	3	3
107 Solihull Metropolitan District Council	1	1
108 Sandwell Metropolitan District Council	1	1

<b>North West</b>		
109 Allerdale Borough Council	0	4
110 Cheshire East Borough Council	0	1
111 Oldham Metropolitan Borough Council	1	2
112 Bolton Metropolitan Borough Council	2	2
113 Hyndburn Borough Council	2	2

<b>North East</b>		
114 South Tyneside Borough Council	0	1
115 Stockton Borough Council	0	1
116 Hartlepool Unitary Authority	2	2



<b>Wales</b>		
117 Merthyr Tydfil County Borough Council	0	1
118 Vale of Glamorgan County Council	0	1
119 Ceredigion County Council	0	1
120 Flintshire County Council	0	1

<b>Northern Ireland</b>		
121 Newry, Mourne & Down Council	1	1
122 Mid and East Antrim Council	1	1
123 Armagh, Banbridge & Craigavon Council	1	1

## KEY

- County Council
- District Council
- Borough Council
- Unitary Council
- City Council

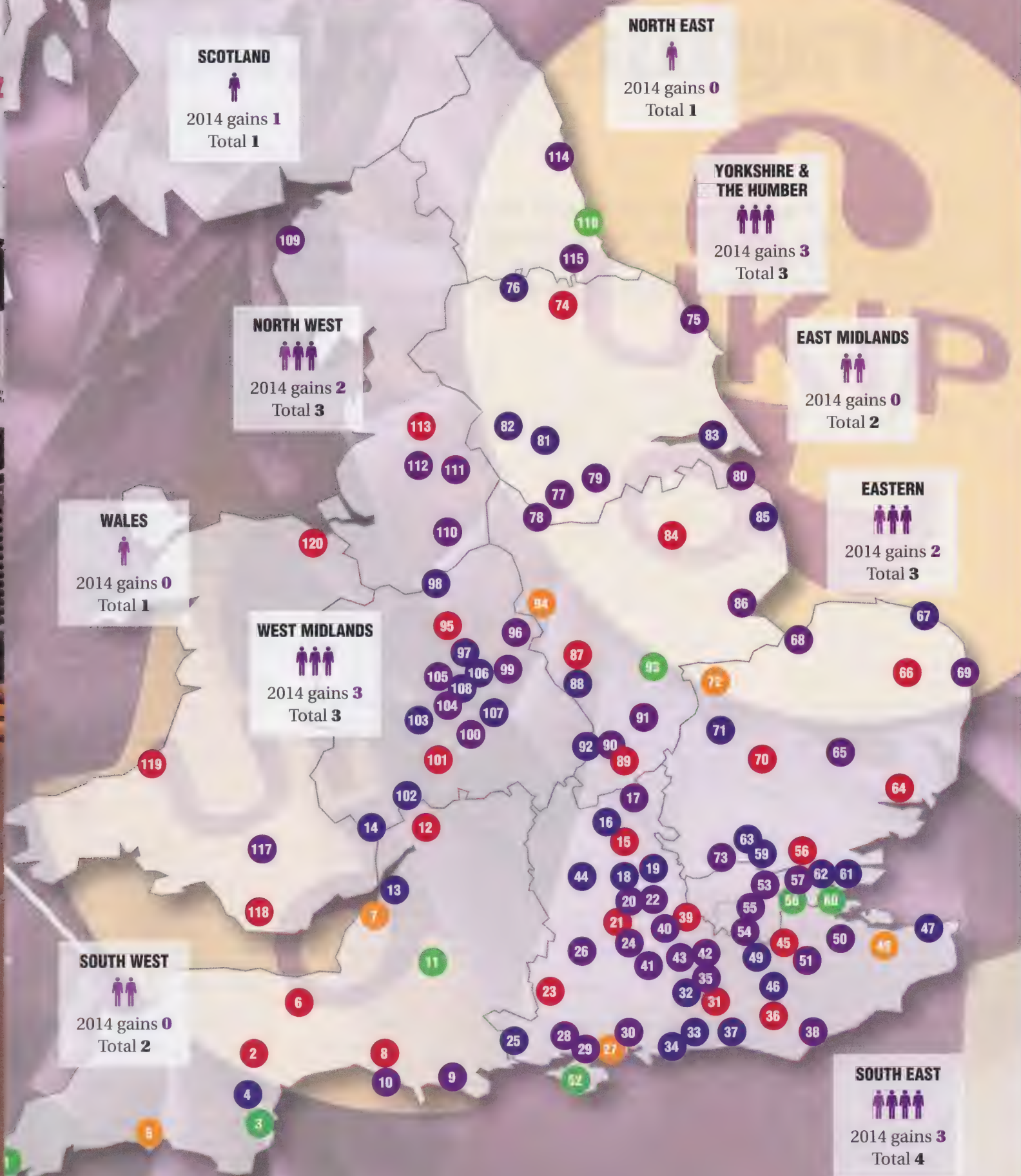
## UKIP MEPS

-  UKIP seats 2009-2014
-  UKIP seats gained 2104





# councillor and MEP map





# Reaching the pragmatic middle

The headlines of the most recent British Social Attitudes survey revealed a hardening of attitudes towards immigrants but, as *Sunder Katwala* argues, the underlying long-term direction is towards a more open and tolerant society. Guiding a path between addressing short-term concerns with long term realities is the key challenge we face, he writes.

**A** CULTURAL polarisation over attitudes to immigration, according to the authors of the new British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey chapter on immigration, could generate long-term political headaches for politicians who adopt a tough anti-immigration agenda in search of public support.

"Responding to the concerns of voters worried about immigration today risks alienating the rising sections of the electorate whose political voice will become steadily louder in elections to come", say authors Anthony Heath and Rob Ford.

The BSA report shows that, levels of education are a strong predictor of attitudes towards immigration, with a stark polarisation between the attitudes of graduates and those with no qualifications. Sixty per cent of those with a degree believe that immigration is beneficial for the economy, and another 16% see it as having neutral impacts, leaving just 22% of graduates who believe that the economic impacts of immigration are negative.

Yet this three-to-one margin in favour of the economic benefits of migration among graduates is reversed among Britons

who left school with no educational qualifications: where 61% believe that the impact is negative, 21% see it as neutral, and just 16% believe that the economic benefits are positive.

The political dilemma, according to academics Anthony Heath and Rob Ford, co-authors of the BSA study, arises from how short-term and longer-term political pressures pull in opposite directions.

"Although UKIP competition creates a short-term demand for restrictive migration policies, such policies may cause problems in the longer run. Advocating strongly restrictive immigration policies risks alienating the more liberal third of the population – and given constraints on policy and high political distrust, may not convince the most anti-immigration voters anyway. Moreover, long-term demographic change is moving society in the opposite direction, because the most pro-migration social groups – university graduates and professionals – are steadily growing while the most anti-migrant groups – unskilled manual workers and those with no qualifications – are in sharp decline," the authors write.

They note that, in 1989, just 7% of BSA respondents were

graduates, while 44% had no qualifications. Now graduates (25%) outnumber those without any qualifications (20%), according to the BSA study. It also reports that those whose parents were migrants to Britain see both the cultural and economic impacts of migration as positive, as do Londoners.

## The challenge to business

If the BSA study presents dilemmas for politicians, it presents a significant challenge for business advocates of the economic benefits of migration too. The BSA survey presents clear evidence that graduates have been convinced, while those who didn't go to university have not, leaving the public as a whole sceptical that migration will have a net benefit to Britain's economy.

Yet both the content and style of economic advocacy about migration – which often focuses on the factual evidence about positive net contributions – remains pitched primarily to the more elite, educated audience which is already onside. A focus on the arguments and messengers who could connect with those who didn't go to university – engaging their concerns about migration constructively – will be important if business advocates want to preach

beyond the converted, and to seek majority public support.

BSA respondents were also asked how long it should be before migrants have full and equal access to the same welfare rights as British citizens. Most people believe that citizenship is a 'club' and that people need to earn entitlements to it. But the BSA findings show that the majority are pragmatic about how this works in practice: only a fairly small niche take a highly restrictive view.

One per cent say that migrants should 'never' have the same access to welfare as British citizens. Only a minority of around a quarter believe that the qualifying period for full welfare access should be five years or more. (18% proposed a five-year wait for EU migrants, and 25% proposed that this would be the right approach for non-EU migrants).

Around one in four (37%) of respondents believe EU migrants should have full and equal access immediately (14%) or after one year (23%). In the BSA findings, most people would see two to three years as fair. Citizenship usually takes five years from those outside the EU, but EU membership constrains governments from discriminating between EU citizens.

This belief, that the





willingness to contribute is important, goes with another feature of 'fair play' – which is that those who do contribute and play by the rules have to be accepted as fully and equal members of the club.

#### **Lack of knowledge**

Public attitudes may not always prove highly responsive to policy changes on immigration, where there is a lack of public knowledge, or low trust about policy. Respondents to the BSA survey were asked whether it was true that "there is a limit on the number of work permits the government issues each year to migrants to Britain coming from outside the EU who want to come and work in Britain. Most of these permits are reserved for those with better qualifications and English language skills".

Forty-five per cent knew this was true, but 42% thought it was false, while 14% didn't know. Those who were most sceptical about immigration were more likely

to give an incorrect answer about work permits.

The BSA report also shows that contact with migrants is associated with more positive, rather than negative views, about the impacts of immigration. "While socially marginal groups worry the most about the impact of immigration, those most likely to be directly exposed to migration in their daily lives have much more positive views. Londoners, those with migrant heritage and those with migrant friends (all of whom are more likely to have regular direct contact with migrants) have more positive than negative views about immigration's effects. The most intensely negative views are found among the oldest voters, and those with no migrant friends", Heath and Ford conclude.

#### **The pragmatic middle**

The challenge for those who seek to make the positive case for immigration – whether they are political parties, business interests,

migrants' rights advocates or universities seeking continuing openness to international students – is to reach beyond these groups who already agree with them and engage the 'pragmatic middle' that the BSA survey identifies.

A rejectionist rump would pull up the drawbridge tomorrow. They are unlikely to ever engage with any argument that would still hold some appeal to the growing group who hold liberal attitudes already. Many have found their political home with UKIP, though it remains to be seen how many will stick with Nigel Farage right through to May 2015's general election.

The BSA survey echoes existing analysis of public attitudes on immigration. This identifies a 'pragmatic middle', sitting between the liberals and rejectionists, who have reasonable anxieties about the pace of change

in Britain and what this means both economically and culturally, but who acknowledge that pulling up the drawbridge is not the answer. It is this group who will accept that migrants can 'join the club' and be 'one of us' – including accessing the British welfare system – but only if they first show their willingness to play by its rules: working hard and paying taxes, learning English and joining in with the community.

It's this group that politicians and others need to engage. Like others, they have had enough of 'tough' promises that can't be kept. As the issue of immigration becomes increasingly salient in the lead-up to May 2015, they will listen to those who make a pragmatic offer on immigration, one that acknowledges and engages their worries but which is both principled and achievable.

■ **Sunder Katwala** is Director of British Future



# #VoteHOPE2014 – Stories from the campaign trail



By Elisabeth Pop

THE 2014 ELECTION campaign was our most ambitious to date. It saw HOPE not hate (HnH) take on the British National Party (BNP) and UK Independence Party (UKIP) on their home turf.

We distributed 2.5m HnH newspapers and leaflets, we launched 'Souls to the Polls' to engage faith communities, we produced hard-hitting research revealing the extremism of UKIP candidates and supporters and we placed an eight-page supplement in the Daily Mirror.

It was a campaign run in every corner of the UK, involving thousands of people. These are the stories of HOPE from the campaign trail.

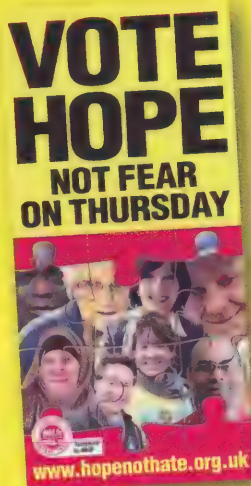
## LIVERPOOL

HOPE not hate engaged in European election campaigning in Liverpool a week before 22 May. A group of Swedish trade unionists were spending a week in the city and asked to join HnH on ground. NW organiser Matt Hanley quickly suggested they could help us hand deliver the HnH election tabloid. On a blazing hot Friday afternoon, two teams embarked on a train to Aigburth and covered a considerable area. BNP leaflets recently delivered were visible through glass doors, so our visitors were delighted to counteract this with a message of HOPE.

In true anti-fascist fashion, the joint effort finished on a high – in the pub where the two teams compared notes on UKIP and the Swedish Democrats.

## NOTTINGHAM

Two months before election day, HOPE not hate organised Campus Call Out days of action aimed at engaging and mobilising the student vote across the country. One such event was possible



thanks to the support of the Romanian Student Society at the University of Nottingham.

President Alexandra Irina Pinzariu said they did not need to think twice about supporting HOPE not hate.

"For months now, we have seen anti-migrant rhetoric based only on myths, both from politicians and the media. Their target of choice has been mainly eastern European migrants, despite it being quite clear that there has not been an "invasion" of Romanians and Bulgarians and the EU migrants are not a "drain on Britain". We believe all students, both British and EU nationals, have to exercise their democratic rights. Our Voice is Our Vote and We Vote HOPE", said Alexandra.

Our work with students and young people to defeat the politics of hate, fear and extremism, both on campus and in communities across the country, is one of the pillars of the HOPE not hate strategy. So we were delighted by the news that on 13 May, during a National Executive Committee meeting, the National Union of Students voted to affiliate to HOPE not hate.

HOPE not hate activists in Nottingham



## SEFTON

A few days before election day, in the backyard of Paul Nuttall, deputy leader of UKIP and the region's MEP since 2009, the real spirit of anti-racism and anti-fascism shone through yet again this time at an HnH gig organised with the help of UNISON.

Howard Gayle, the first black footballer to play for Liverpool FC, talked about racism in the game. There was a short film about the spirit of resistance in Merseyside and even folk music. Assistant General Secretary of UNISON, Roger McKenzie, spoke about the need to come together for our modern, inclusive Britain and about the challenges our diverse communities face. And when the results came in UKIP were clearly beaten in the town they hoped to make theirs.

## BOSTON

While delivering the HnH tabloid through mailboxes on a street in south Boston, conversation turned to how the influx of migrants has prevented this town from experiencing many of the problems faced by similar sized towns across the country. Central



and eastern European nationals have brought over their culture, cuisine and entrepreneurial skills, hence there are very few empty shops in the town centre.

The majority of the people we spoke to on the doorstep agreed that, were it not for the Portuguese and eastern European community, the town would not have a sufficient population to attract NHS investment for their Pilgrim's Hospital and the money would have been diverted into nearby Grantham or Spalding.

Time and time again, our activists, local supporters and the regular Bostonians we spoke to agreed – without the new arrivals, Boston would just be another rural ghost town.

## BIRMINGHAM

On 20 May, HOPE not hate organised around 200 leafleting sessions at transport hubs across the country during our Transport Tuesday Day of Action. Campaigning outside Moor Street Station in Birmingham, Midlands' organiser Owen Jones was pleasantly surprised to see how many people knew of the HOPE not hate campaign. In fact, Owen recalls people crossing the road to shake his hand, signing up to the campaign in the middle of a busy road and asking to take a bundle of leaflets with them to hand out at work. Some even apologised for not having the time to join us on ground, but wanting to donate and help publish the Daily Mirror HOPE not hate supplement.

"The growth of the HOPE not hate movement over the past year has been amazing and certainly makes campaigning from dawn to dusk even more worthwhile!" says Owen.



(above) Activists arrive to collect newspapers in Havering.

(Below) Young supporters out distributing leaflets in Luton



## CAMBRIDGESHIRE

The majority of the news you get to read about Peterborough, locally and nationally, are about the pressure on the NHS, shortage of school places and a settled community worried about crime, an "alien" culture and the future. So on the first Saturday in May, HOPE not hate supporters covered Lincoln Road and the Millfield area.

Local supporter Ed Murphy was thanked for dropping anti-racist get-out-the-vote leaflets at the Markazi Jamia mosque. The young men he was greeted by spoke about the need to stand up to the same prejudice their parents faced when they came to the UK, in the '70s, prejudice which was now directed at eastern Europeans.

Not so much the "pull the drawbridge" and "close the door behind us" mentality that the Daily Hatter want us to believe

the majority of second and third generation migrants share!

The thirst for HOPE was felt in Cambridge too. HOPE not hate supporter Kimberley joined the campaign trail early in the morning – her husband had taken the morning off work to watch over their two toddlers because Kimberley felt very strongly about joining me on a day of action. I asked her why does she support us: "I want to make sure my children will grow up in a tolerant, inclusive Britain!" came the reply.

## LONDON

"Help us fulfil the promise of Peace and HOPE" was the message of our Souls to the Polls campaign which sought to engage and mobilise faith communities in the democratic process.

In London and across the country our tailored Faith Pack was distributed to over 300 churches (of all Christian denominations, including 35 Romanian churches), dozens of mosques and even gurdwaras. In keeping with our proud anti-fascist origin and mission, we were honoured to have HOPE not hate-inspired sermons read out in London and Manchester synagogues.

London is also the place from where most of our first-time volunteers came forward. Not surprising, considering that London is the realisation of UKIP's worst nightmare – an open, tolerant, diverse Britain.

Despite hosting some of the poorest neighbourhoods in the country, multicultural, young, progressive Londoners have spoken for the many, for HOPE, for Our Britain on 22 May – UKIP won here only 7% of the vote in the Local elections and 17% in the European elections.

There is still HOPE for the Britain we want to live in!

**IF YOU WANT TO TAKE A STAND AGAINST RACISM  
AND DEFEND OUR MULTICULTURAL AND DIVERSE  
BRITAIN, THEN PLEASE DO GET INVOLVED EMAIL  
OFFICE@HOPENOTHATE.ORG.UK**



# Laying a ghost to rest

**Matt Hanley and Jason Hunter** recount the HOPE not hate campaign in the North West

THE EARLIEST trade union movement and demands for working class representation and emancipation are rooted in North West political history. Between the Chartists, Peterloo Massacre, the Co-op movement and the Dockers striks, the North West has a proud and distinguished progressive heritage.

So when we failed to stop Griffin in 2009, it was shameful.

And as two local activists born and bred in the North West (from Merseyside and Burnley), represented now in the EU by an open racist, admirer of Hitler and Holocaust denier, we promised ourselves we would do whatever it took to sack him in 2014, and chase the BNP out of the region.

However, in May 2013, as we watched with glee the demolition of every BNP candidate in the country, another dark force rose in its place: the spectre of UKIP, whipping up fear and hatred of immigrants and foreign people to score political points.

The HOPE not hate campaign in the North West was simple: build a progressive coalition that could mobilise a massive, North West-wide antiracist voter turnout on 22 May, publicly counter and demolish the arguments of the far-right, and offer a competing, hopeful and positive narrative that would address the concerns of these voters.

## Educate, agitate, and organise!

We spent spring and summer 2013 establishing local HOPE not hate campaign groups in areas where they did not exist and supporting and expanding groups where they did. In the process we brought together an antiracist coalition of trade union branches, students,



A collection of just some of the literature HOPE not hate distributed in the North West

activists, church and community groups, local councillors and political parties of all colours.

In these groups we discussed the best strategy for their specific community; challenging the BNP/UKIP support in some communities, or simply working to increase the vote in others.

Over autumn and winter 2013 we produced and distributed tens of thousands of direct and hard-hitting leaflets. In particular we targeted the 1m trade union members in the region, exposing the BNP and UKIP as no friend of the working class and a huge threat to workers' hard-won rights.

We ran Campus Call Out events at universities across the region, signing up to vote as many as possible of the 250,000 students in the region (many for the first time), using the HOPE not hate student-friendly voter-registration forms, increasing the antiracist vote in the region.

We produced Souls to the Polls packs containing information on the BNP and Get Out The Vote (GOTV) materials, tailored for imams, chaplains, priests, vicars, rabbis and ministers to use to persuade their congregation of the importance of voting in the Euros.

Throughout May 2014 we produced and delivered

nearly 320,000 localised antiracist and antiracist newspapers, delivering door-to-door in target communities across the region by our local groups.

Each newspaper exploded immigration myths, exposed unpopular UKIP and the BNP policies, and featured positive local community stories that were happening on people's doorstep, researched and written in partnership between local activists and HOPE not hate journalists.

On Transport Tuesday, led exclusively by local union branches, we handed out 20,000 leaflets at train stations and transport hubs across the north west during peak hours, two days before election day.

Over the six months leading up to 22 May, our message of HOPE went out to a potential audience of well over 2m people.

## And the result?

Griffin was humiliated. They lost 100,000 votes from 2009, reducing their vote share from 8% in 2009 to a miserable 1.87%, and laid to rest some personal ghosts from 2009.

Plus, UKIP's growth was less marked here than it might have been, especially where we campaigned hard. Only 6 UKIP councillors were elected, in a region of 7m people.





# Our biggest campaign to date

*Owen Jones reports on the Midlands HOPE not hate campaign*

IN THE MIDLANDS, European elections brought HOPE not hate's most wide-reaching campaign to date. From Worcester to Boston and everywhere in between, hundreds of new activists got involved – expanding into many towns previously untouched by HOPE not hate, such as Kenilworth and Market Drayton, with almost a quarter of a million newspapers and leaflets being delivered across the region. In Leicestershire alone 65,000 went out.

Aside from campaigning against the politics of fear, one of the most positive aspects of the campaign was how it managed to bring different people together. Cutting across social and political divides we saw people from a variety of backgrounds pounding the streets and chatting away, people who might not have otherwise interacted with one another.

In Royal Leamington Spa students got to know some of the long-term residents of the town and in Birmingham a trainee vicar and a retired rabbi campaigned together. The days of action saw whole families turn out to help deliver some HOPE to their community.

It was amazing just how many people came out of the woodwork to volunteer their time to campaign, many who had never previously been involved in a political campaign before, and many of whom were from older generations. It seems that with the far-reaching rise of UKIP people are getting motivated to try and do their bit to ensure that political scapegoating against migrants and other vulnerable parts of the community is countered.

## Community campaigning

Even towards the final days of the campaign momentum was still building as many came forward to help out with Transport Tuesday, which saw an overwhelming positive reaction from the general public as reports from all over the region were feedback about people stopping to shake the hands of the volunteers and crossing the road to get a leaflet.

Despite the Midlands returning some disappointing results in towns like Dudley, Oadby and Boston where UKIP won the overall vote, there is a light at the end of the tunnel as we head towards the General Election in 2015. There is a clear indication that a large part of the public is motivated to do something to halt this rise and even though the European Elections was HOPE not hate's largest campaign in the region to date it should be seen as a stepping stone towards bigger and better things to come. Many of the towns which got involved during the elections will be given the support required to enable them to grow and become more effective campaigning groups.

The next few months will see some huge challenges across the area, but HOPE not hate has never been in such a healthy position to counter it. As we further cement ourselves as a trusted voice in the local communities we hopefully will be able to look back at this campaign as the start of a new phase in the Midlands story, where we take HOPE to the masses.



Activists preparing to leaflet in Northampton

HOPE not hate success lies in exposing the ineffectiveness and extremism of Griffin and BNP councillors and the damaging policies of UKIP, but also giving people an alternative way to get involved to make their workplaces and communities better.

Union representatives, local community activists and faith groups all provide the glue that holds our society together in the face of harsh neo-liberal policies. We showed that the BNP had no answers, and were not real 'insurgents', but bigoted opponents of all that could make modern Britain a better place.

Griffin may be gone, and the BNP on its knees, but our campaign to make Britain a place free from the politics of hate from the likes of UKIP will continue. The problems the far-and extreme-right exploited have not gone away, and remain for others to exploit again.

Eternal vigilance is our obligation, and hope must be our mandate.

As US LGBT rights activist Harvey Milk said, 'I know that you cannot live on hope alone, but without it, life is not worth living. You...and you...and you... You gotta give 'em hope.'





# The 2014 HOPE not hate







# e campaign in pictures





# 2014 Elections overview

*HOPE not hate* European editor Graeme Atkinson and associated research fellow at IRIS in Paris, Jean-Yves Camus, analyse the EU elections

## Euro vote epic over bar the shouting...

**A**nd there was plenty of that in the European media's post-election frenzy about the electoral performance of the far right and right-wing populists with words like "surge", "sensational", "political earthquake", "seismic" and "stunning" being lavishly bandied about to describe the results. "Avalanche", "tsunami" and "landslide" did not hove into view.

Mercifully.

Across the European Union (EU), voters vented their spleen, expressing real and imagined grievances against austerity, immigration, unemployment, the EU in whole or part, the Euro, the ubiquity of corruption and their own widespread feelings of disillusionment, dissatisfaction, disenfranchisement, disenchantment and alienation. Some voted left but not in the numbers who cast their votes for the non-mainstream right.

In a general sense, there can be no doubt that the results marked a further rightward shift of the electorate and have dramatically shaken up the domestic political situation both in the UK and France with UKIP and the Front National (FN) respectively winning most votes, and also in Denmark. It is too early to say, however, what longevity their impact will have. The need to reverse those results is obvious, as is the need for hard, consistent, long-term campaigning.

The main focal point of attention after the ballot, apart from UKIP's spectacular result in the United Kingdom, has inevitably been France where the FN, led by Marine Le Pen, scored

an expectedly large win, polling almost 26%, winning the votes of 4,711,339 voters and administering a sharp slap in the face to France's mainstream and mostly venal political leaders. The FN will now have 24 MEPs in the new 751-seat European Parliament (EP).

### Nazi right

In Denmark and Austria, "respectable" parliamentarist far rightist and anti-immigrant populists scored predictably well. In Denmark, the Danish People's Party (DF), which was courted by Le Pen and her ilk in a bid to secure the 'Golden Fleece' of forming a recognised group and grabbing even more cash in Brussels, bumped up its share of the popular vote up by over 11% to 26.6%, doubling its seats in the European Parliament (EP) from two to four.

In Austria, the far right will be crowing. The now-populist but still extremist Freedom Party took 19.7%, compared with 12.7% in 2009 and, like the DF, will increase its tally of seats from two to four while the anti-immigrant, Islamophobic Sweden Democrats managed to slither into the EP to take two seats.

Even the hardcore violent nazi right got in on the act: Golden Dawn, which is in danger of being outlawed, in Greece grabbed between 9 and 10% of the vote and will send three of its travelling circus of meatheads to Strasbourg.

They will be joined by a solitary member of the German nazi National Democratic Party (NPD) which got just 1% but is only being shoehorned into a European Parliament seat thanks to a

barmy change in electoral law by Germany's Constitutional Court. Three fascists from Jobbik, whose vote faltered in Hungary, will join this quartet.

### Golden Dawn

While reflecting the general mood of fear – much of it politically fostered – in the EU about the host of issues mentioned above and understandable concerns about the probity of a huge swathe of the political class – there were also some notable successes for Eurosceptic outfits like the Alternative for Germany (AfD) and the Finns Party, it was not exactly all "uncork the champagne" for the assorted extremists and populists.

Another nail was hammered into the coffin of the once-formidable Vlaams Belang (VB) which lost more than half its support, falling from 9.8% to 4.62%. Across the border in the Netherlands, the much-touted anti-Muslim populist Geert Wilders had the arrogant smile wiped off his face, his Freedom Party (PVV) coming in third.

In Italy, Lega Nord, which has also lined up with Mme Le Pen, got 6% – a steep drop from the 10.21% it got five years ago – and lost four of its nine seats. In other countries, the results for the far right were hardly dramatic.

Some observations must be made.

Firstly, it is apparent from this election that in some countries – France, Austria, Denmark, Hungary, the UK – the far right has been able to affix itself permanently to the political framework, the Freedom Party (FPÖ) in Austria almost completely



rehabilitating itself, for example.

Secondly, the same cannot be said of the likes of Golden Dawn and the NPD. Wilders, who seems to be suffering self-inflicted damage, could also have a question mark hanging over his future EP electoral prospects. What will happen with newcomers like the anti-Euro AfD remains to be seen.

Thirdly, it is extremely unlikely that this truly motley crew of assorted nazis, fascists, not-so-ex-fascists and regionalist, Islamophobic, anti-Euro and anti-EU populists will be able to glue themselves into a single formation.

### Extremism

One of their abiding characteristics is their visceral dislike of each other. UKIP wanted to work with the AfD, the Finns Party and Italian comic Beppe Grillo's 5-Star Movement, but only the latter has responded. UKIP's former Europe of Freedom and Democracy Group seems to be in a coma but may be resuscitated.

Perhaps worried by too close an association with elected extremists, the DF and Finns Party have taken refuge in David Cameron's European Conservatives and Reformists Group.

Marine Le Pen wants to work with UKIP but that is not reciprocated; Golden Dawn fancies an alliance with Le Pen but she has – for the moment – given that short shrift along with any suggestion of a pact with Jobbik or the NPD.

At present, she has zipped in the FPÖ, the PVV, Lega Nord and the VB but is short of representatives



Photo: European Parliament

from the two additional countries needed to form a parliamentary group. Under European rules, such a group must contain at least 25 MEPs from seven different member states. The parliamentary groups must be formed before 24 June if their members wish to obtain influential posts on parliamentary committees.

The alliance-making intentions of other outfits like the Sweden Democrats and Poland's New Right Congress are unclear. They may yet put their shirts on Le Pen who is pirouetting on a tightrope held by Eurosceptics on one side and outright fascists on the other.

Finally, there has been much talk of the seemingly relentless "Rise of right-wing extremism in Europe..." etc. This needs cold examination.

Looking at the arithmetic of the election results, the following emerges:

First, if we subtract the votes for UKIP (GB) and VOX (Spain) – which maybe should not, strictly, be listed among the extremists – from the 16,835,421 total votes of the far right, we arrive at an amended total of 12,240,279.

Second, if we subtract the 3,619,357 votes difference between the Front National vote in 2014 and 2009 from this amended total

of 12,240,279, we arrive at a further amended total of 8,620,922.

This is a smaller total than the 10,667,818 votes that the far right polled in 2009. In fact, it indicates that the general far right vote actually *fell* by 2,046,896 votes in 2014 compared with 2009.

### Resistance

So just where is this generalised, much talked-about, media-hyped "rise of fascism", "rise of right-wing extremism" etc (except in France)? Because, even with the huge increase in FN support, the overall far right vote in the EU grew only by 1.57m over the 2009 score with an additional country – Croatia – in the mix. Indeed, apart from in the UK (if we include UKIP), Denmark, Hungary and France, the far right lost votes everywhere and only won 34 seats.

Hyperbole and wild statements suggesting that the roof is falling in only frighten people, paralyse resistance and deter engagement. They help nothing. The fight against fascism and populism and the vile hate prejudices that nourish them has to go on strongly, energetically, intelligently and on a much broader basis.

*Fear has no place in that perspective.*



# Far-right/right-wing populists in 2014 European elections

The results of last week's Euro-elections were greeted in near apocalyptic terms by the mass media.

But was this the case? Was it a massive victory for the far right? Examination of the results in Europe would suggest it is rather more complicated.

## United Kingdom

United Kingdom  
Independence Party

**27.49%**  
**24 MEPs**

## Portugal

National  
Renewal Party

**0.46%**  
**0 MEPs**

## Spain

VOX

**1.56%**  
**0 MEPs**

## Belgium

Flemish Interest

**4.26%**  
**1 MEP**

## Netherlands

Freedom Party

**13.32%**  
**4 MEPs**

## Germany

NPD

**1.0%**  
**1 MEP**

## France

Front National

**24.85%**  
**24 MEPs**

## Austria

Freedom Party  
of Austria

**19.72%**  
**4 MEPs**

## Slovenia

Slovenian  
National Party

**4.40%**  
**0 MEPs**

The winners:  
UKIP leader Nigel Farage and  
Front National's Marine Le Pen



## Denmark

Danish Peoples Party

**26.6%**  
**4 MEPs**

## Sweden

Sweden Democrats

**9.7%**  
**2 MEPs**

## Finland

Finns Party

**12.9%**  
**2 MEPs**

## Estonia

Conservative People's Party of Estonia

**4%**  
**0 MEPs**

## Czech Republic

Workers' Party

**0.52%**  
**0 MEPs**

## Lithuania

Lithuanian Nationalist Union

**1.99%**  
**0 MEPs**

## Latvia

National Alliance

**14.25%**  
**1 MEP**

## Poland

Congress of the New Right

**7.15%**  
**4 MEPs**

## Slovakia

Slovak National Party

**3.61%**  
**0 MEPs**

## Romania

Greater Romania Party

**2.71%**  
**0 MEPs**

## Bulgaria

National Union Attack

**2.97%**  
**0 MEPs**

## Italy

Northern League

**6.15%**  
**5 MEPs**

## Croatia

Alliance for Croatia

**6.88%**  
**0 MEPs**

## Greece

Golden Dawn

**9.40%**  
**3 MEPs**

## Hungary

Movement for a Better Hungary

**14.29%**  
**3 MEPs**

## Cyprus

National Popular Front

**2.69%**  
**0 MEPs**



# FN topples Conservative Right UMP in Euro-poll

From Jean-Yves Camus in Paris

AS WIDELY forecast in the polls, the Front National (FN) came first in the Euro elections with 24.95% of the vote. The Conservative UMP polled 20.76% and the Socialist Party just 13.98%, an historic low since the 1980s. Only 43.5% of those entitled to vote went to the polls and it seems that Marine Le Pen's party was able to mobilise its constituency better than its opponents, many left-wing voters deciding to show their discontent with the economic and social agenda of the government by abstaining and conservative voters becoming increasingly uneasy with a UMP leadership embedded in a financial scandal.

The FN won all seven mainland constituencies except north-western

France and the Paris area. Other anti-EU lists on the right were unsuccessful: Debout la République, an ally of UKIP, polled 3.22% and the pro-life Force de Vie got below 1%.

On election night, Marine Le Pen boasted that with 24 MEPs the Front National "had become the first party in France" and asked President Hollande to call early parliamentary elections which, of course, will not happen. It is true that the FN vote reached an unprecedented high in some regions of the country, especially in northern France (33.62%) and eastern and south eastern France (just below 29%). But when compared with the 2012 presidential election, the FN lost 2.3m votes.

## Working class vote

This obviously means that Le Pen will need drastically to improve her electoral success if she wants to qualify for the second round of the 2017 presidential ballot.

The three incumbent FN MEPs – Jean-Marie Le Pen, Marine Le Pen and Bruno Gollnisch – have been re-elected. Among the newcomers are key players in the FN leadership: Louis Aliot, Nicolas Bay, Steeve Briois, Marie-Christine Arnautu and Florian Philippot. Three "experts" will also sit in Strasbourg: Aymeric Chauprade, a specialist in geopolitics, the economist Bernard Monnot and Gilles Lebreton, a professor of law. Several seats also go to longtime militants who are unknown to the public but who have





# Freedom Party loses again

Jeroen Bosch reports from The Hague for *Alert!* and Antifa-Net

been rewarded for their unconditional commitment to the party, such as Marie-Christine Boutonnet, Jean-François Jalkh and Mireille d'Ornano, who have been members since the 1980s.

Exit polls showed that 30% of those aged between 18 and 35 voted for the FN, whereas only 21% of those above 60 did. 37% of the unemployed, 38% of the lower white-collar group and 43% of working-class people cast their ballot for the extreme-right party. According to the same surveys, 68% of those who voted for FN did so because of the national political situation, not because of Europe. The first concern of 85% of those voters was immigration, followed by law and order issues (53%) and spending power (44%).



In a bid to attract attention Geert Wilders went to Brussels and cut out one of the stars of the European flag, trying to symbolise the Netherlands leaving the EU. The stars however don't symbolise the countries.

AFTER THE local council elections in March, when the Freedom Party (PVV) suffered a loss of 7,445 votes in the two cities they contested, Geert Wilders' outfit also lost the European elections on 22 May. Despite the exodus of several PVV councillors, parliamentarians and even of Wilders' personal assistant after his encouragement of the racist chanting of "Less Moroccans", the polls still predicted victory for the PVV as the only player in the political spectrum to offer an "out-of-the-EU" option.

But while his future political partner Marine Le Pen of the French Front National scored a huge victory, Wilders lost 139,632 votes and a seat in the EP, emerging as third party in the Netherlands.

In a bid to shift focus, Wilders now wants to take a seat in the EU Parliament and keep his seat in the Dutch parliament on the basis of the 288,953 preference votes he won. Since 2002, combining seats is not possible anymore but a debate has started.

## Party tensions

In the first TV debate in the run-up to the EU elections the other politicians accused the PVV list's number one, Marcel de Graaff, of co-operation with the antisemitic Front National. Meanwhile Wilders is defending his co-operation with the Flemish Vlaams Belang (VB), a party with a long tradition of racism and roots in the Flemish collaboration with the Nazi occupation of Belgium.

"Gerolf Annemans (the VB's ex-leader) and Philip Dewinter are not racists, I have talked with them several times. And the Vlaams Belang was not convicted for racism, that was the Vlaams Blok", Wilders said in a Flemish newspaper.

The Dutch CIDI, the Centre for Information and Documentation of Israel, has joined the debate to accuse Wilders of working with the antisemitic FPÖ in Austria, "a party grounded by SS members" and with the notorious father of Marine Le Pen, Jean-Marie. Wilders countered that he remains "very pro-Israel and strongly against antisemitism". Later, though, he was forced to distance himself from the remarks of Jean-Marie Le Pen about the Ebola virus "taking care" of the problem of immigration.

But where does this leave the PVV? On a domestic level it is hard to predict what this election result means for the next parliamentary elections. With a turnout of only 37.3% of the voters, it is clear that Wilders did not manage to lure voters to turn up at the polling stations as effectively as Mme Le Pen did.

Meanwhile, Wilders' organisation has started to show cracks, with the latest tension being between him and party ideologist and man-of-the-first-hour, Martin Bosma. On a European level, Le Pen and Wilders have to find two other parties, with only Vlaams Belang, the FPÖ and the Lega Nord currently on board their European Alliance for Freedom.



Photo: Blandine Le Cain



# Freedom Party success flawed

From Martin Jordan in Vienna

ALTHOUGH THE Freedom Party (FPÖ) narrowly failed to achieve its declared goal of leaping the symbolic 20% mark, it sees itself as the real winner of the EU elections in Austria. The party gained 7% compared with 2009 but it seems that whatever it tries the FPÖ still fails to advance from its long-held third position behind the conservative Peoples' Party (ÖVP) and the Social Democrats (SPÖ).

This year's EU election was the FPÖ's biggest chance to make headway and it surprised analysts that the party "only" achieved 19.7%. If nothing else, this was because a big chunk of voters became available after Hans-Peter Martin's independent list (17.7% in 2009) dropped out, as well as because of the ongoing decline in the popularity of the two big traditional centre-left and centre-right parties.

The FPÖ's new top man in Brussels will be its secretary-general, Harald Vilimsky. He replaces the party's long-term MEP, Andreas Mölzer, who was forced to step down earlier this year after branding the EU as "conglomerate of negroes" and comparing it to Nazi Germany. The fact that the FPÖ's main face on the campaign trail was party leader Heinz-Christian Strache makes it clear that Vilimsky, whose appeal is doubted internally, is indeed second choice.

## Repercussions

Vilimsky will sit in Brussels next to his new mates of the Front National (FN, France), Lega Nord (LN, Italy), Vlaams

Belang (VB, Belgium) and the one-man show, Geert Wilders (PVV, Netherlands) in what they hope will be a new far right group in the EU parliament. Although Marine Le Pen (FN), with 24 MEPs, is the undisputed leader of that alliance, apart from the FPÖ the rest lost voters in their respective countries. This bloc might cause some trouble in the coming years and doubtless individual parties will try to profit from the benefits that come with their newly gained position. However, for the FPÖ the alliance might have significant repercussions on national level.

The tone of Marine Le Pen and the route set out by her are strong stuff for many FPÖ protest voters. Le Pen is loud about what *she* wants: abolish the Euro; total revival of national borders and shattering the European Union. By lamely following in Le Pen's footsteps, the FPÖ risks a significant radicalisation on EU issues. On a domestic level, the FPÖ has already burned its fingers over reviving national border and customs controls. It is also clear to the party that destroying the EU is not what its voters – who would prefer a split (Euro currency) Union of "northern" and "southern" countries – want.

As it stands, the FPÖ is making itself a stooge for Le Pen's right-wing extremists and risks not only alienating part of its voting base but also puts party leader Strache further away than ever from taking part in Austrian government. ●



FPÖ secretary-general  
Harald Vilimsky.  
Photo: Franz Johann  
Morgenbesser



DF's Morten  
Messerschmidt  
election poster  
Photo: News Oresund

## DF runs out winner

From Anne Jessen for  
Demos and Antifa-Net in  
Copenhagen





OF ALL THE PARTIES competing in the EU election in Denmark, the right-wing populist Danish People's Party (DF) totted up the most votes – 605,889 – and increased its share of the vote from 11.3% to 26.6 %. This success enables the DF to double its number of European Parliament seats to four.

Turnout in the election was 56.3% and the DF's top candidate Morten Messerschmidt grabbed the biggest personal following with 465,758 votes. In the Danish media, he is now being proclaimed one of the country's most successful-ever politicians.

The policies addressed in the DF election campaign were mostly in the social domain: unemployment benefit, child benefit, foreign labour, wage dumping and safeguarding the Danish

labour market model.

In its campaign, the DF routinely blasted the "whole EU bureaucracy" and the idea of inspection-free open borders, policies that received great acclaim. Issues such as immigration, 'Muslims' and cultural values that the DF usually put into focus with enthusiasm were less visible.

#### Embarrassing

After the 2009 EU elections, the DF belonged to the Europe of Freedom and Democracy (EFD) group in the parliament together with UKIP. Which group the DF will join now is not certain. Marine Le Pen of the National Front would have liked to see the DF hook up with the European Alliance for Freedom (EAF) but the DF has

dismissed this because, according to a party representative, "the FN is too antisemitic".

Instead, It has linked up with David Cameron's European Conservatives and Reformists Group (ECR) despite the fact that this group supports Turkish EU membership, which the DF strongly rejects.

The ECR's enlistment of the DF (and that of the Finns Party) indicates that Cameron has changed his attitude to the DF which, in 2009, he dismissed because it would be politically embarrassing for him to work with an extremely right-wing party.

The Danish parliamentary elections in the autumn of 2015 will show whether the DF's EP success will be replicated at national parliamentary level.



# Nazi *entrée* to Strasbourg but left wins

From Panayote Dimitras for Greek Helsinki Monitor and Vania Nedeltcheva of the Athens Labour Unions organisation

IN GREECE'S 2014 European parliamentary elections, eight far right parties ran, two won seats and a third, Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS), won 2.7% of the vote.

Leading the far right's charge was the violent nazi Golden Dawn (GD) which took 9.4% and won three seats, these going to two retired army generals and the father of one of the two GD members killed in an extreme left attack in 2013.

GD is an openly nazi party founded in 1985, which has engaged in violent assaults on opponents, migrants and Roma.

In late 2013, the leadership of the party and scores of members were charged with being members of a criminal organisation after its members killed a left-wing rapper. Almost half of the leadership, including six MPs, are currently behind bars.

GD's garnered a mere 0.5% in the 2009 European elections but in the two parliamentary elections of May and June 2012, received 7% of the vote and secured 21 and 18 seats respectively. In the first round of 2014 regional elections held a week before the Euro-elections, Golden Dawn won 8.1%, while in the concurrent first round of the municipal elections in Athens, its candidate won 16% of the vote.

## Votes doubled

The big loser on the outside right was the Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS), which got 7.1% in 2009 winning two seats and was member of the Europe of Freedom and Democracy group, led by UKIP. In 2014, the Independent Greeks (ANEL) also campaigned, promoting its

affiliation with UKIP and outran LAOS, winning one seat with 3.5%. Both parties were created by MPs expelled from conservative New Democracy in 2000 (LAOS) and 2012 (ANEL). The far right as a whole polled 16.7%, doubling its collective score over 2009. Besides LAOS and ANEL, five fringe parties polled 0.1%-0.6%.

The leftist anti-austerity SYRIZA emerged as the overall winner with 26% and six MEPs, leaving the conservative New Democracy trailing. SYRIZA also won the largest region of the country – Attica – with nearly 30% of the vote.

Compared with the 2009 Euro-election, the 2014 ballot demonstrated increased voter participation: 58.22%. None of the old MEPs was re-elected and the ruling coalition parties (New Democracy and PASOK/ELIA) recorded a significant decline compared with the 2012 national elections and the 2009 Euro-election elections. How GD will participate at EU level remains to be seen as Marine Le Pen has already has rejected cooperation with it and Jobbik.

There are some positive messages from the elections. For the first time, two foreign citizens were elected. Konstantina Kuneva, a trade unionist of Bulgarian origin who, in 2008, was attacked with vitriol for her activities, was elected for SYRIZA. In the municipal elections, Dr Nabil Morandi from Syria, the first mayor with a migrant background, was elected in a municipality that includes Manolada, the area where, last summer, migrant strawberry pickers were shot by their employer when they asked for their wages.

# Jobbik's second place is no big victory

István Tóth reports from Budapest

THE FASCIST Jobbik party managed to meet its goal in the European elections, becoming Hungary's second power.

Party leader Gábor Vona claimed that, as the Socialists have collapsed, Jobbik is the main challenger to the ruling national conservative Fidesz party. The low turnout of 29% was a warning, he said, that Hungary does not trust the European Union.

Vona's triumphant statement is based on an incorrect assessment of the situation. Jobbik can only rejoice over the victory of the buckled Socialist MSZP if the unexpectedly good results of the DK (Democratic Coalition) and the Együtt-PM (Together 2014 – Dialogue for Hungary) are ignored, because the left cumulatively received almost twice as many votes as the far right. And we have not taken into consideration the green, liberal, LMP (Politics Can Be Different), which just slid past the 5% threshold.

Though Jobbik overtook the MSZP it remains in the same place as in 2009. Its "success", however, is important both for psychological and political marketing reasons; but Vona wrongly concludes that Jobbik has the potential to change party positions and has become the number one challenger to Fidesz. The European elections brought Jobbik's slight decline (about 90,000 fewer votes than five years ago) and reduced any chance of replacing Fidesz in the near future.

## Fragmented Socialists

Jobbik probably guessed that most of what they could achieve in the election was minimising its losses because Fidesz curries bigger favour with eurosceptic voters. Additionally, spy accusations against its MEP Bela Kovacs hit Jobbik's sensitive points and shook the party's popularity.







# Fascists in election no-show

From Michele Zacchi in Rome

ITALY'S FAR RIGHT political parties played no major role in the European elections of 25 May, the 4% national vote threshold preventing any hope of success for the fascists.

Even the assorted right-wingers who abandoned Silvio Berlusconi's party to form Fratelli d'Italia – Alleanza Nazionale (Brothers of Italy – National Alliance), failed to reach the required threshold, landing on 3.66%.

The right-wing regionalist Lega Nord was given only the mildest of reaffirmations by losing 60% of its vote and four of its nine European Parliament seats. This party reached 6.16% and immediately afterwards sought dialogue with and joined up with the Front National in France.

In an official Forza Nuova press release, the results of the European elections were summarised as follows: "A considerable increase in the Eurosceptic vote as shown by the results scored by UKIP, The Alternative for Germany, Indignados, etc. and the strengthening of the

national- popular movements (Jobbik, Golden Dawn, NPD). The Front National of Marine Le Pen, which stands exactly halfway between the two groups mentioned above, has achieved some extraordinary results. Now we will have, if people like Gollnisch and Jean-Marie Le Pen will have their way, a union between these two groups."

Fiore's mob goes on to say that their BNP friends suffered enormously from the media push that UKIP enjoyed and Nick Griffin being unseated.

"Instead," the statement continued, "we saw a positive surprise in the election of Udo Voigt – the NPD has participated in numerous Forza Nuova rallies in the past 15 years and has shared many battles with Roberto Fiore".

The same press release says that Forza Nuova will begin "to put together a pan-European school and keep in constant contact with the leadership of the other movements so as to exploit the success of these elections to the benefit not just of nationalism in Italy, but across Europe."

The real failure would have been if Jobbik had not beaten the fragmented Socialists. It is worth remembering that Jobbik's career started with boycotting the 2004 EP elections and campaigning against joining the EU.

The irony of politics is that the EP elections in 2009 brought about the fascists' breakthrough. Jobbik, which had been allied with the MIEP (Hungarian Justice and Life Party), gained almost 15% with about 430,000 votes. Half a year before the 2014 parliamentary elections it seemed that Jobbik was down. The party was reeling from internal conflicts and has been at a serious competitive disadvantage due to a reconstruction of the electoral system. Fidesz efficiently applied a portion of Jobbik's policies in a bid to marginalise it. Jobbik's room for manoeuvre became more and more narrowed and its antisemitic and anti-Roma rhetoric started to become boring even among a population susceptible to such drivel.

It is a warning signal for opponents that Jobbik was able, partially, to recover but, nevertheless, its vote has shrunk by two-thirds in comparison with April's national elections.



Forza Nuova  
Photo: David Zellaby



Professor Bernd Lucke  
Photo: Mathesar from wikipedia



## Populist AfD snatches seven EP seats

From Michael Klein for Antifa-Net in Berlin

THE EUROSCEPTIC Alternative for Germany (AfD), campaigning the first time in European elections, won seven seats and will send party leader Professor Bernd Lucke, former president of the Federation of German Industries Olaf Henkel and Beatrix von Storch, who lobbies for a very conservative vision of family, to Strasbourg.

The AfD, which narrowly missed out winning a federal parliament seat last autumn, brings together a pro-capitalist, national conservative and right-wing populist current and is heavily supported by the far right weekly *Junge Freiheit*.

It draws most of its voters from the Christian Democrats and the still very weakened liberal Free Democrats, and its membership ranges from conservatives and liberals disappointed by their respective parties to former members of the Islamophobic Freedom party.

In 2013, the AfD started with a significant focus on the EU and Euro but has enlarged its policies to include migration, law and order and supporting very traditional family values. More than 2m voters supported them in the EU elections to give the AfD a final 7.0%. In the southern German states of Bavaria (8.0%) and Baden-Württemberg (7.9%), in Berlin (7.9%) and in Hesse (9.1%), the AfD polled well.

### No-go with UKIP

In Brandenburg and Saxony, where there will be regional elections later this year, the party polled 8.5% and 10.1% respectively, making its entry into the regional parliaments quite likely. However, this will also attract more rightists trying to enlarge their influence and find a place for outright racist and nationalist propaganda.

While there were some contacts with UKIP in the run-up to the European elections, party leader Lucke hoped to ally with the Tories. The AfD will not join any parliamentary group with the Front National and will probably stand alone in the EP.

The Nazi National Democratic Party (NPD) which has close ties to the BNP and Golden Dawn got 300,815 (1.0%) votes. This makes former party leader Udo Voigt, who opened the party to violent skinheads and hardcore Nazi activists in the mid-1990s, an MEP after the Federal Constitutional Court's controversial decision to scrap the 3% hurdle just few weeks ahead of the election. The NPD is in severe financial and organisational crisis but interprets entry into the Strasbourg parliament as a glimmer of hope for future German regional elections.



# Divided Spanish far right in new flop

From Sandra Cortés in Madrid for Antifeixistes.org

THE SPANISH extreme right remains bitterly divided over the European elections and how to get a foothold on the national stage. In May's elections, the five far right-wing parties that stood all failed miserably, barely achieving 0.5% of the vote.

The Republican Social Movement (MSR, an Alliance of European National Movements member party) just passed its 2009 total of 6,009 (0.04%) votes with 8,775 (0.05%) votes. The Nazi National Democratic Party (DN) obtained 12,763 votes (0.08%), slightly more than the 9,950 (0.06%) it obtained in 2009. Obtaining an increase of more than double its vote was the fascist Falange de las JONS which leapt from 10,031 votes in 2009 (0.06%) to 21,326 (0.16%) in 2014.

The coalition Up with Spain (LEM), formed by the Nazi National Alliance (AN), the fascist Spanish Catholic Movement (MCE) and La Falange premiered with 16,703 votes (0.10%).

Both the AN's leader, Pedro Pablo Peña, and the boss of La Falange, Manuel Andrino, have been accused of stating at a rally that they would be willing to launch armed struggle against independence for Catalonia.

Peña knows a thing or two about "armed struggle" having served time in the past for possession of explosives, after being arrested before attacking a busload of relatives of prisoners from the armed Basque separatist group ETA. In previous municipal elections, among those AN presented on their electoral lists were

Pedro Cuevas who murdered 18 year-old anti-fascist, Guillem Agulló, in 1993, and Eduardo Clavero, a Nazi jailed for murder.

Another right-wing coalition is Social Impulse, a traditionalist and Francoist formation established by Spanish Alternative (AES), Family and Life (FYV) and Carlist Traditionalist Communion (CTC), which won 17,551 votes (0.11%). Boycotting the elections was España2000, which has five councillors and Platform for Catalonia (PXC), which has 67 councillors in Catalonia.

VOX is a new party to the right of the ruling Popular Party (PP), created by some of PP's more radical members like Santiago Abascal (owner of the virulently Islamophobic website Minute Digital). It achieved 242,091 votes (1.56%). ●



MSR campaigning in Valencia

# New Right makes headway

Rafal Pankowski reports from Warsaw for Never Again Association and Antifa-Net

SINCE 2007, the Polish far right has been unable to get any representatives elected to either the national or European Parliament. This changed in 2014 with the strong showing of Janusz Korwin-Mikke's New Right Congress (Kongres Nowej Prawicy – KNP) which polled 7.2 per cent and won four seats in Strasbourg.

Korwin-Mikke, 72, has long been active on the fringes of Polish politics but until recently achieved little success apart from being an MP for a brief period between 1991 and 1993. His politics is a mixture of economic libertarianism, extreme authoritarianism and a general Social Darwinist outlook.

During his election campaign, the KNP leader relied on shock tactics by making outrageous statements that guaranteed him media attention and airtime. For example, in a televised discussion, he questioned the meaning of the word "rape" and claimed "women are always



KNP's Janusz Korwin-Mikke

pretending that they are showing some resistance and this is normal".

Korwin-Mikke has also been known for making offensive comments about the disabled, gays, and virtually every other minority. He frequently uses the term "Jewish communism" and has been a staunch supporter of David Irving's legend that Hitler "did not know" about the Holocaust.

"Hitler would have been acquitted by a court," he said in an interview in May.

The relative success of Korwin-Mikke's party results from its new-found support among the youngest voters: the KNP polled 28% in the 18-27 age group. It has been argued that the abysmally low turnout (23.8%) further aided the radical party. Unsurprisingly, the vast majority – 75% – of the KNP's voters were men.

In contrast, the extreme-right Nationalist Movement (Ruch Narodowy, RN) failed miserably with just 1.5 per cent of the vote.



## ATAKA in disarray after defeat

Dana Ionescu reports from Sofia

ATAKA'S PERFORMANCE in the Euro elections marks a continuation of its downward trajectory.

The fascist party, which has wooed the anti-establishment, nationalist, Islamophobic and anti-Roma vote in Bulgaria for the past decade, was left floundering with just 2.97% of the vote. This, despite the fact that just a couple of months before the elections, the Western media was still stressing that with populist, anti-immigration parties gathering momentum elsewhere in Europe, ATAKA could do well at the ballot box.

And despite the fact that the party never scored more than 3% in the opinion polls conducted in the six months leading up to the elections.

The fading charisma of party leader Volen Siderov, the fact that Bulgaria does not have an electoral threshold for the European elections, and ATAKA's strategy of playing on public anxiety over an influx of Syrian refugees could potentially have been ingredients for far right electoral success in Bulgaria. But election night confirmed what the polls and HOPE not hate had been stressing for months – the far right in Bulgaria is falling fast.

### Terrible results

ATAKA, which had been Bulgaria's fourth strongest party since 2005, managed to finish eighth with only 75,913 votes, winning no seats. In contrast, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, a liberal party that stands for the rights of Bulgaria's Turkish minority and is ATAKA's archenemy, came third with 386,725 votes (17.2%) and won four seats.

ATAKA not only failed to win any seats but also even finished behind its ultra-nationalist rival, the National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria which got 3.05% of the vote.

One could put ATAKA's dismal results down to a shift in public mood away from protest voting and towards some sort of stability. The centre-right GERB got 30.4%, after making insistent calls for the Socialist (BSP)-led government to step down. Or, one could point to the fact that Siderov has been even more controversial than usual and brought himself unwanted negative publicity with a violent racist, physical attack on a French cultural diplomat. His trial for that started on 10 April and, if found guilty, he could face five years in jail.

The party is desperately trying to cling on to influence. On 28 May, ATAKA MP Desislav Chukolov asked the Bulgarian Parliament to cancel the election results. According to ATAKA, the EU polls were marred by vote buying and rigging, claims for which it allegedly has serious evidence. Also, following its terrible results, the party is calling the latest moves to a no-confidence vote against the government "a farce" in the hope that some BSP MPs might support its call to rescind the European election results. However, according to the latest poll, if early elections took place ATAKA would struggle to get more than a couple of its current 23 MPs re-elected.

## PRM shipwreck confirmed

From Dana Ionescu in Bucharest

IN THE March 2014 issue of *HOPE not hate*, we forecast that the far right Greater Romania Party (Partidul Romania Mare – PRM) was heading for shipwreck. Its demise was duly confirmed on the evening of 25 May when the first Euro-elections exit polls showed it had barely received 2% of the votes. Official confirmation came the next morning, when the Central Electoral Bureau announced that PRM scored 2.71% or 145,904 votes.

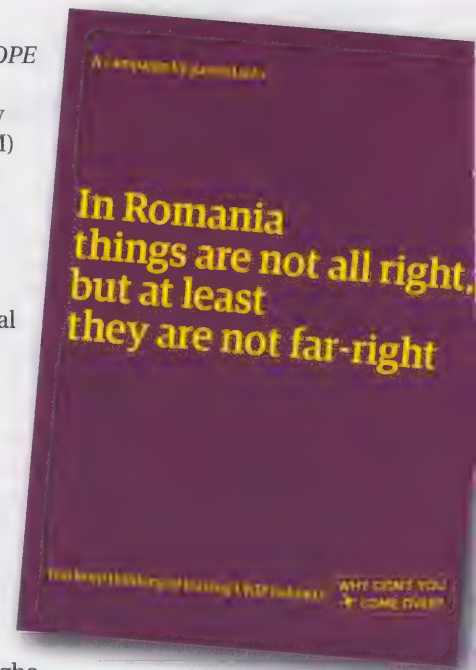
This news was not quite news for anyone else except the party's founder, Corneliu Vadim Tudor. A month before the elections, he finally won his legal battle with leadership usurper Gheorghe Funar. While not regaining leadership of the party, he got back his membership, amassed the signatures he needed to stand as a candidate and head the party's list of prospective MEPs.

On 25 April, he even led the last national PRM meeting before the European elections, asking party members not to listen to the polls which put the PRM on only 2%, because, he claimed, the party was "actually polling at 15%, with membership and support rising week on week". He appealed to "all Romanian national forces to pull together under the PRM banner" of the fight against corruption, for living standards and for the preservation of national pride. He seemed genuine in his delusion that PRM would send at least one MEP to Strasbourg – himself.

For the rest of Romania, the PRM's catastrophic result was not news at all. Tudor – who was a senator for 16 years and came second in the 2000 presidential race – will now have served just one term as an MEP and has all but disappeared from the limelight and the public mind. This is evident from the fact that the ultranationalist, anti-Roma, anti-Hungarian, Islamophobic party that a decade ago ranked third in the country now has fewer than 5,000 members.

The public mood has shifted considerably. Romania is one of only six nations in which centre-left parties won this Euro-election. The Hungarian nazi Jobbik party campaigned in Transylvania and caused public unrest there, but did not manage to destabilise western Romania or provoke a rise in Romanian populist nationalist feeling. A reason for this could be the fact that the country has registered, in the first quarter of 2014, a 2.5% GDP growth and 7.5% unemployment. By comparison, France has registered 1% GDP growth and 10.4% unemployment. The European elections have proved that the rise of right wing extremist or populist parties is largely a western European phenomenon.

This has sparked the start of a positive campaign in the daily newspaper *Gandul* following the result in the UK asking the question: "You keep thinking of leaving UKIP behind? Why don't you come over to Romania? In Romania things are not all right, but at least they are not far-right".





# Dramatic losses for Vlaams Belang

From Wim Haelsterman for AFF/Verzet – *RésistanceS* in Brussels



Former MP  
Bart Laeremans

THE ONCE-powerful far right Vlaams Belang (VB) has barely survived the European and Belgian federal elections, the “moderate” Flemish nationalists of the New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) grabbing most its votes as well as the vote of the Flemish radical liberal party “Lijst Dedecker” (LDD) and winning four European Parliament seats.

The VB posted major losses finishing eighth with just 4.26%. As a result, it retained only three of its nine federal MPs and only its chairman, Gerolf Annemans was elected to the European Parliament. Annemans could not hide his bitter disappointment and resigned as chairman, admitting that the “renewal” operation launched two years ago had flopped.

Former MP Bart Laeremans, a long

term right-wing Flemish nationalist and considered one of the few “serious” VB politicians, expressed his disgust with the old-fashioned campaign and with the negative role played by Philip Dewinter in particular. Fed up with Dewinter's behaviour, Laeremans quit the council and said the party needs new faces.

## Strategic front

The Francophone far right in Belgium is now all but dead. None of the participating right-wing extremist parties had any success at all. All attempts earlier this year to create a new strategic “nationalist front” for the elections failed miserably. New populist outfits like the pro-Israel Parti Populaire and the antisemitic Debout Les Belges made little impression. The N-VA's

triumph in the European, Flemish and federal elections is a remarkable result. Bart De Wever, the N-VA's charismatic chairman and mayor of Antwerp, grabbed more than 30% of the vote in Dutch-speaking Belgium, a performance that makes him by far the most popular politician in Flanders.

Despite his success and massive support from local “captains of industry”, it is far from sure that De Wever will be the next Belgian prime minister.

Even N-VA participation in the next federal government is not guaranteed as the traditional political groups that were part of the previous government, led by Elio Di Rupo (PS), managed to retain a majority of federal MPs. In a nutshell, the N-VA is not needed to create a brand new government. ●



# Sweden Democrat duo take Strasbourg seats

From Daniel Vergara for *EXPO* in Stockholm



Kristina Winberg  
with party leader  
Jimmie Åkesson  
(below) Peter  
Lundgren

THE FAR RIGHT Sweden Democrats (SD) party has won seats in the European Parliament (EP) for the first time. Backed by a 9.7 percent vote, Kristina Winberg and Peter Lundgren, both relatively new faces in Swedish politics, will be the SD's MEPs. It is unclear which group – if any – the SD will belong to in the EP. Before the election the party refused to answer whether it would accept invitations from Front National (FN) leader Marine Le Pen and Geert Wilders to form a parliamentary group.

The day after their poll success they denied that they would cooperate with the FN, Sweden party leader Jimmie Åkesson claiming that he “did not know enough” about the FN to cooperate. Åkesson's claim is hard to believe given that his

party's international spokesperson Kent Ekeröth has been in the same pan-European party, the European Alliance of Freedom, as the FN for years. Also, the SD's party secretary Björn Söder was a supporting member of the FN in 2001.

The SD has indicated that it wants to cooperate with UKIP and the Danish People's Party (DF). This dream will be impossible to fulfil. UKIP's leader Nigel Farage has said he is sceptical about the SD and the DF has, along with the Finns Party, signed up with David Cameron's conservative ECR group.

Not everyone in SD circles is happy. Its youth organisation has criticised the senior party for its choice of partners, no surprise as the youth outfit has launched a common organisation with the youth groups of the FN, the Austrian Freedom Party and the Belgian Vlaams Belang.

The SD was able to collar a lot of media

attention before the election by launching a campaign in Stockholm's underground rail stations with the message “Ban organised begging”, targeting alleged beggars from Romania and giving party spokespersons the opportunity to spread racist myths and blaming beggars for organised crime.

The EP also came in for some stick, the party attacking it for being corrupt and eroding national sovereignty. At the same time, the SD says it wants to renegotiate Sweden's EU membership terms with EU but has not elaborated on the terms it wants to discuss.

No far right campaign is complete without at least one scandal and one of its candidates, Pavel Gamov, was able to deliver one with the revelation that he had had contacts with the fascist National Democrats (ND) and their newspaper *Nationell Idag*. In 2009, Gamov wrote to the paper saying that he could write for it and raged at the former Social Democrats leader, Mona Sahlin, whose daughter had married a black man. Gamov's contacts with the ND have not led to any disciplinary action and he will still be an SD candidate for election to the Swedish parliament.





# Cologne populists lose after successful anti-fascist campaign

From Peter Behringer in Cologne

IN THE run-up to the local and European elections, the Bündnis gegen Pro Köln, an alliance against the racist Pro Köln (pro-Cologne), launched a broad campaign called Kein Veedel für Rassismus ('No quarter for racism').

The alliance, which has existed for many years, has a track record of triumphs, successfully mass blockading and preventing a right-wing extremist Anti-Islamisation Congress in 2008.

A key goal in its latest campaign was to intervene in the Euro-election process, as well as to prevent the far right Bürgerbewegung Pro Köln from winning seats on Cologne's city council where it has been represented since 2004.

To build the broadest united campaign, an attempt was made to bring all alliances, groups and initiatives together, despite political differences, together to halt the right.

One of the campaign's activities was called 'Brown Bag' in which activists and supporters collected far right propaganda and asked people on the street to throw 'brown trash' (racist leaflets) into the 'brown bags'.

Pro Köln planned to present their election campaign in all 86 *Veedeln* (quarters) of Cologne but had to cancel most of them because of the intensity of opposition protests.

## Racist propaganda

As the campaign became more established, more people joined in. A neighbourhood initiative, for example, organised the public removal of racist posters that were then given to the police and used to pressed incitement charges against Pro Köln.

On 1 May, 200 people stopped a Pro Köln rally in a southern suburb of the city, afterwards spontaneously staging a protest march against racism and removing Pro Köln posters.

As a climax to its election campaign Pro NRW (Pro Köln's sister party for the state of North Rhine Westphalia) announced a rally in front of two refugee centres in Cologne only to find its path blocked by around 800 local people, thus preventing a racist propaganda stunt and showing solidarity with the refugees.

In the end, only 2.6% voted Pro Köln, a loss of more than half of its vote compared with the last election in

2009. Pro Köln also lost its infrastructure and funding, having failed to reach the 3% needed to form a parliamentary group and the first signs of the party's disintegration are clearly visible. It is beyond doubt that the Kein Veedel für Rassismus has massively contributed to this process. The big lesson is that it is possible to act together successfully beyond political differences. And the fight will go on until Pro Köln is history.



Captions



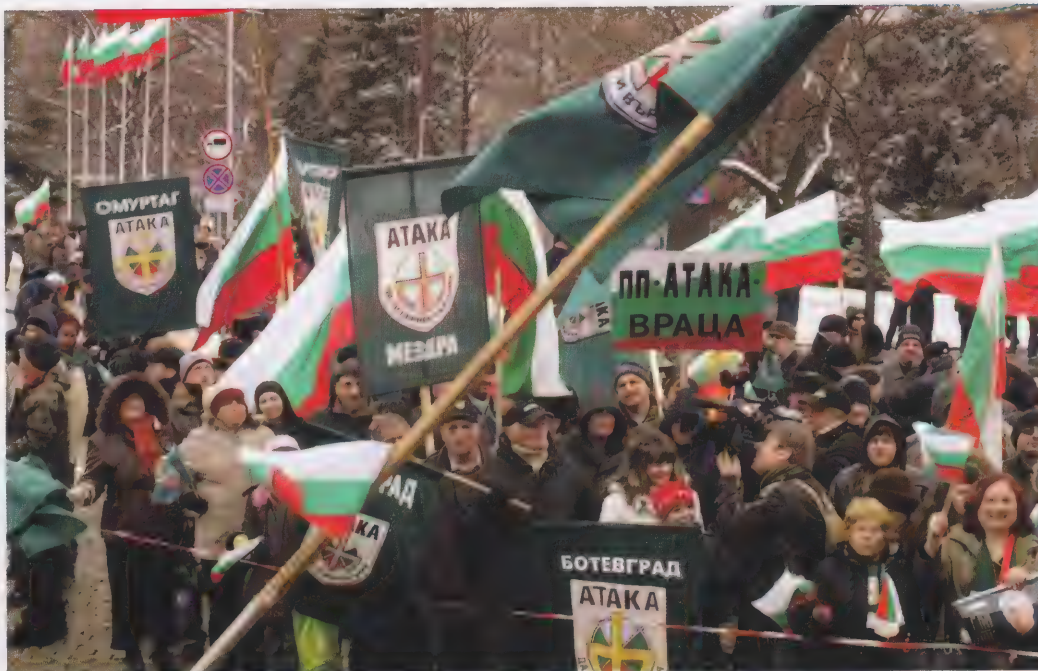
# BULGARIA ATAKA – playing on resentment

**Dana Ionescu in Sofia**

IN BULGARIA, various right-wing extremist groups and parties were already forming before the collapse of Communism in 1989 and were opposed to the supposedly growing influence of Muslim and Turkish groups in the country.

Bulgaria's 577,000-strong Muslim population accounts for 7.8% of the population, making Islam the country's largest minority religion. The Muslim population of Bulgaria is made up of Turks (mainly Sunni), Bulgarians (mostly Pomaks) and Roma. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), the main liberal party, which stands up for the rights of the Turkish minority, is a main target of the Bulgarian far right.

In the 1980s, institutionalised 'Bulgarisation' of the Turkish minority, involving banning the Turkish language, culture and names, gave rise to serious tensions and even creation of Turkish underground organisations. With the fall of the Communist regime, as in Romania, open hostility to the Roma and Jewish minorities also sprouted.



In the years after 1990, several right-wing extremist parties emerged but failed to achieve any appreciable political influence. An exception was the ultra-nationalist and populist Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (IMRO or VMRO), which registered early success at local and regional level. Most recently IMRO was represented in the National Parliament between 2005 and 2009 by five members but in 2009 failed to win any seats in either

the National and European Parliament.

Also still active, but without parliamentary influence, is the right-wing extremist Bulgarian National Radical party (BNRP) which, in 1991, demonstrated, chanting slogans, against parliamentary representation for the Turkish minority. BNRP supporters and activists still call for struggle against Jews and Roma and maintain close contacts with the violent nazi skinheads in Ukraine and Serbia.

Attempts by far right parties to enter the national parliament in any number proved unsuccessful until 2005. Shortly before the parliamentary elections, the far right ATAKA ("Attack") Party was formed and gained around 9% of the vote, enabling it to enter parliament with 21 (out of 240) seats as the fourth largest political force in Bulgaria. In the 2009 elections, ATAKA gained 9.4% of the vote, winning 21 seats in the parliament.

## BULGARIA KEY FACTS

■ ATAKA is an ultranationalist, Islamophobic / Anti-Turkish, antisemitic, anti-Roma, Eurosceptic party. No reliable official data on actual membership but estimates are around 50,000 members. An ATAKA rally last year attracted 35,000 supporters.

■ After the birth of the party and success in parliamentary elections in 2005, ATAKA published a list of 1,500 Bulgarian Jews on its website under the heading "The Jews are a dangerous, plague-infested race".

■ Three books by party leader Volen Siderov focus on the "global Jewish conspiracy" and the alleged Roma, Turkish, homosexual and foreign agenda to take over Bulgaria.

■ In the 2006 presidential election, Siderov obtained 24.1% of the vote on a programme demanding a mono-ethnic Bulgaria covering Macedonia, the Turkish Province of Edirne, parts

of Northern Greece and Southern Serbia.

■ ATAKA also demands withdrawal from NATO, renegotiation of Bulgarian membership of the EU and exit from the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

■ Under the slogan "Give Bulgaria back to Bulgarians", the party advocates banning Turkish language TV programmes.

■ ATAKA stages marches under such slogans such as "Sentence Gypsies to Work Camps!",

"Homosexuals are sick!", "Politicians grunt like swine!".

■ ATAKA has good relations with some European right-wing extremist and populist parties: Jean-Marie Le Pen (Front National) appeared as a guest speaker during local elections in 2007.

■ In 2013, Siderov met Austrian Freedom Party boss Hans-Christian Strache





The party initially gave unconditional support to a minority government of the right-wing conservative Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB) Party, but after ATAKA supporters attacked the Banya Bashi mosque in Sofia in 2011, throwing eggs at Muslims and yelling "Turks Out!", three ATAKA MPs quit the party in protest. In 2011, 11 MPs left the party in a bout of internal warfare.

Parliamentary elections were held in Bulgaria in 2013, two months ahead of schedule, following protests that forced the resignation of the GERB government in February. The elections resulted in a hung parliament but ATAKA took 23 seats, winning 7.3% of the vote, and was able to remain Bulgaria's fourth largest party.

Since then, Bulgaria has witnessed political instability due to an endless series of no-confidence votes aimed at the Bulgarian Socialist Party-led government. Following the results of the European elections, ATAKA is calling the latest attempt at a no-confidence vote "a farce", because – according to the latest polls – if early elections took place tomorrow ATAKA would struggle to get more than a couple of its current 23 MPs re-elected.

### Volen Siderov

Its leader, Volen Siderov, a man with big ambitions, has shaped the character of the party.

ATAKA originated from a cable TV show hosted by Siderov who in the early 1990s was editor of *Demokratiya*, the daily paper of the anti-Communist Union of Democratic Forces (UDF). Siderov promoted economic shock therapy, minority rights, and Euro-Atlantic integration – the UDF's standard neo-liberal position. But after the collapse of the UDF government in 1993, he fell by the wayside and his political and journalistic career hit a rough patch.

In 2001, Siderov tried to join the ranks of Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha's newly founded *Natsionalno Dvizhenie Simeon Vtori* (National Movement Simeon the Second – NDSV) and run on its party list in his native Yambol but failed to win nomination. During this time, he reinvented himself as a racist, antisemitic, nationalist and, in 2003, ran for Sofia mayor on a borderline racist "Clean up!" platform, garnering only about 2,000 votes.

In 2004, Siderov got a daily show on a Burgas-based cable TV station called SKAT. The 15-minute show was called "ATAKA". A daily rant, Siderov's take on the news using his three favourite lines of interpretation: the inability and/or unwillingness of the Bulgarian state to curb alleged raging Roma crime; the rising threat of "Turkification" of the country; and the moral bankruptcy

and corruption of the entire political establishment, which stole from the Bulgarian people through crooked privatisation, shady foreign debt deals, and ubiquitous corruption and nepotism.

### Who supports ATAKA?

This demagoguery has produced results. Research carried out by Alpha Research and other leading Bulgarian polling agencies reveals four trends:

Firstly, ATAKA voters are disproportionately male. In this regard, ATAKA's electorate resembles the far right electorate elsewhere in Europe.

Secondly, ATAKA voters profess the strongest anti-establishment sentiment, being inclined to direct their criticism at all three governments that held power

between 1997 and 2005 blaming them for Bulgaria's decline.

Thirdly, the majority of Bulgarians who think the country needs a "strong leader" tend to support ATAKA electorally.

Finally, while a worrying 40% of Bulgarians population surveyed since 1997 said they would welcome the abolition of the DPS, the vast majority of ATAKA supporters and voters make up the biggest portion of this astonishingly high percentage.

Recent surveys have shown, however, that, unlike Siderov, the party's sympathisers do not believe all privatised property should be renationalised. Neither do they think that Bulgaria should risk international isolation by leaving the EU. ●



**Sofia: 2014** – Bulgarian parliament votes down the amendments proposed by ATAKA leader Siderov, urging jail sentences for people publicly showing homosexuality, or affiliations through organisations or participation in meetings, rallies and parades, or through the mass media and internet.

**Sofia: 2012** – ATAKA demands Bulgarian Parliament impose a moratorium on the construction of mosques in the country.

**Sofia: 2014** – March to commemorate WWII fascist general Hristo Lukov

**Plovdiv: 2011** – Riots sweep Bulgaria before the 2011 presidential elections, following killing of a teenager by a man with links to a local Roma crime boss. Rioters turn on ethnic minorities and Muslims and attack mosques in both Sofia and Plovdiv.

**Plovdiv: 2014** – Hundreds of ultra-nationalists and football hooligans attack the city's mosque, throwing firecrackers, torches and stones. One police officer injured, 120 Islamophobes were arrested.

**Varna: 2014** – Sofia City Prosecutor brings criminal charges against Ataka leader Volen Siderov for hooliganism and minor bodily injury to a French cultural attaché on a flight to and at the Varna Airport. If found guilty, Siderov faces five years in jail.



in Austria. At the press conference afterwards, he spoke about how ATAKA, Austria's Freedom Party and other "nationalists across Europe" should

Volen Siderov

unite forces in view of the "the almost unbearable situation of Muslim immigration into the EU, forthcoming European Parliament (EP) elections and the ever growing sovereignty deficit of the EU member states".

■ In the 2014 European elections, ATAKA's disintegration was confirmed – the far-right party did not manage to secure the 160,000 votes necessary to gain a seat in Brussels. In 2009, it had two MEPs, who defected soon after being elected.



# Rights for Domestic Workers

By Dave Porter

MARISSA BEGONIA knows too well the painful reality of being separated from your family.

As an overseas domestic worker (ODW) from the Philippines, Marissa did not see her three children for an incredible 17 years. During that whole time she was sending money back home so they could have a better future.

Now reunited with her children and living together in London it has been a long, hard journey for the 44 year old.

Marissa is a community co-ordinator for Justice 4 Domestic Workers, a campaigning organisation which gives a voice to those who have suffered abuse and exploitation at the hands of their employers and is at the forefront of demands for a change in the visa system which 'ties' overseas domestic workers to their employer.

Marissa, who spent many years as a domestic worker in Hong Kong and Singapore before coming to the UK, said: "Many of them are not paid and they have been starved, they have to work 24-hours-a-day, and there are some who have been beaten as well. If they leave they call me and I try to explain what's available for them. It's very difficult because it's hard for me to tell them there is nothing we can do for them."

HOPE not hate this month teamed up with Justice 4 Domestic Workers and another campaigning group, Kalayaan, to highlight the plight of domestic workers who enter the UK on a limited visa and are at the mercy of their



employers, who often treat them as modern-day slaves.

A recent report by Human Rights Watch states that overseas domestic workers in the UK are subject to "serious abuses" including forced labour. It documents the confiscation of passports, confinement to the home, physical and psychological abuse, extremely long working hours with no rest days, and very low wages or non-payment of wages.

Research carried out by Kalayaan shows that many ODWs are paid less than £50-a-week, nearly 80% have their passports confiscated, more than 70% are never allowed a day off or out of the house, 65% do not have a room of their own, and the majority report psychological abuse such as being regularly shouted at and humiliated by their employers.

Kalayaan and J4DW are calling on the government to repeal the 2012 visa system and revert back to the previous one introduced in 1998 which offered employment protection to migrant domestic workers. Under the current system, ODWs can only enter the UK on a six-month visa which cannot be renewed and they are tied to their employer. Reverting back to the old system would allow them to renew their visas and change employers.

As it stands if they leave their employer because of abuse, they risk being branded an illegal immigrant and face going 'underground' or being deported. More than 16,500 ODWs came to work in the UK last year, and many who become domestic workers have paid a "substantial amount to an agency" to find employment, which is only repaid through their salaries.

Kate Roberts, community advocate for Kalayaan, said: "Previously when people came to us they had the right to change employers and there were lots of really practical things we could do for them. Now there is nothing we can do for them. They have been criminalised. The government says, 'they have had this traumatic experience, why wouldn't they want to go home?' But if you sent them home what about the agency fees they have not paid off? It means they will just go back into domestic work and this time under worse conditions."

"There was a system that worked, things were not perfect but when they were being exploited there was a legal redress for them."

Marissa, who spent many years as a domestic worker in Hong Kong and Singapore before coming to the UK, adds: "Many of



them are not paid and they have been starved, they have to work 24-hours-a-day, and there are some who have been beaten as well. If they leave they call me and I try to explain what's available for them. It's very difficult because it's hard for me to tell them there is nothing we can do for them.

"They sacrifice so much for their families back home. They don't know what future awaits them. And if they leave their employer and go underground they are exposed and can be abused even further because they become undocumented. Often when they come to us they don't have

anything, only the clothes they are wearing. We provide clothes and shelter for them."

Domestic workers are almost always women and are often very vulnerable. Most have been forced into domestic work – or servitude – through the dire economic need of having to send money home to their families in some of the poorest countries in the world. There are also fears that some migrant domestic workers are trafficked into the UK.

Campaigners say 2012 rules means domestic work is now more akin to domestic slavery, and flies in the face of anti-slavery laws currently being pushed through Parliament.

As well as working for wealthy families, ODWs often work for foreign diplomats and are prohibited from leaving their employers. This leaves them particularly open to abuse and exploitation, especially as they can remain in the UK for up to five years and their employers receive diplomatic immunity.

Kate said: "There is a massive power discrepancy – diplomats are not accountable to our laws and the police are generally not interested because of diplomatic immunity. They are vulnerable because they can't withdraw their labour no matter what their employer does to them. These workers should be able to move employers and move on."

For its part the Home Office says employers must have taken on domestic workers for at least a year before they enter the UK and that this employment record is the "best way" to prevent abuse.

But Kate Roberts disagrees, stating that many ODWs have little choice but to stay with their employer because they have their passport and also because many are too scared to speak up about abuse for fear of losing a vital source of income for their families.

The Human Rights Watch report accuses the UK government of failing to live up to its obligations under international law to protect migrant domestic workers and enable them access to justice if they are mistreated

Izaa Leghtas, a researcher at Human Rights Watch, said: "It's scandalous that in modern Britain migrant domestic workers are subject to such appalling abuses.

Instead of protecting these workers, the system makes it harder for them escape. Workers who are mistreated now face a horrendous choice: either endure the terrible abuse, or escape and become undocumented migrants, where of course they are much more vulnerable to further abuse and exploitation."

The report says many overseas domestic workers are women from Asia or Africa who have worked for their employers in the Gulf and have experienced abuse there at the hands of their employers before being brought to the UK.

Human Rights Watch has documented widespread abuses against migrant domestic workers in the Gulf where gaps in labour laws and the restrictive sponsorship (*kafala*) system contribute to exploitation. The *kafala* system ties a domestic worker's visa to her employer, and gives employers control over whether the worker can change jobs and, in some places, exit the country. The UK's abolition of the right to change employer risks sending a signal to employers from the Gulf that they can continue to treat their workers as they did under the *kafala* system.

Under domestic, European, and international human rights law, the UK must protect migrant domestic workers from abuse, both from government officials and from private individuals. But recent cuts to legal aid deny victims who have not been recognized as possible victims of trafficking free legal assistance, even if they are victims of forced labour.

■ [www.j4dw.org](http://www.j4dw.org)  
■ [www.kalayaan.org.uk](http://www.kalayaan.org.uk)

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**unite**  
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not hate**





# Sister Act

**Dave Porter reports on an organisation which has been fighting for the rights of black and minority ethnic women for the past 30 years**

SOUTHALL Black Sisters have been fighting oppression and violence against women for more than three decades and show no signs of tiring.

In fact, this year the not-for-profit organisation celebrates its 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary.

During that time the organisation has changed the lives of thousands of women for the better and become

a thorn in the side of the white, male establishment.

One of its major campaigning achievements has been the fight against what is known as 'no recourse to public funds' (NRPF) which trapped women who had come to Britain to marry into violent marriages, and facing the grim choice of either staying with their husband or facing destitution. The law





had the effect that minority women who come to the UK as immigrants cannot claim housing or subsistence benefits if they left their partners because of domestic abuse.

Hannana Siddiqi explains: "The campaign stretches back to 1992 when we gave evidence to the Home Affairs select committee around domestic violence and immigration. The one year rule meant that if they left their husbands they faced deportation and so are trapped in the marriage.

"The committee was sympathetic but did not introduce any reform. In 1997 when the new government came into power we started negotiating with Home Office Mike O'Brien about reform. We argued for a concession for those women facing deportation who were victims of domestic violence. And it was in 2002

that we got what's known as the DV concession but that was only a partial reform. One of the things they did not reform was no recourse to public funds. They were not willing to change the benefit rules even though women would face destitution otherwise.

### Domestic violence

"Then we started campaigning with other groups and in 2007 the government agreed to a pilot scheme, the Surinder Project. This meant that that you could get limited help with housing and subsistence for a temporary period. We carried on campaigning for benefits and argued that there should be an exemption for victims of domestic violence.

"We had cross-party support but the government was unwilling to introduce further reform. When the Coalition government came in Theresa May agreed the domestic violence concession around destitution, which gives women access to benefits and housing while they regulate their immigration status. At the end of the day whether they can stay and get benefits depends on whether their application is successful – if not they have to leave the country anyway.

"That came in in 2012 and we are very happy with that. It took 20 years to achieve and has helped significant numbers of women. We are now campaigning to extend the DV concession to other victims of gender-based violence and who also don't have access to legal aid, such as women who are here on a visa or who are here with a student husband."

Hannana says that such women are often threatened with divorce if they attempt to leave their husbands and fear being ostracised by their community back in their home country; while in the UK they are often isolated and suffer language problems when trying to seek help.

"They don't know where to go for help and are often frightened of the police – such people often come from countries where the police are corrupt," she said.

Other campaigns which Southall Black Sisters has engaged in over the years include forced marriages and honour-based killings.

"We helped to introduce the Forced Marriages Act which enables victims to gain access to injunctions," said Hannana.

Another significant issue for the group has been around so-called 'provocation defence', where women who kill their partners after years of abuse can now use the defence if they can show a fear of serious violence.

### Religious divide

Hannana said: "Women rarely kill – they are driven to kill. What the state should be doing is helping women to escape situations of domestic violence. This is about the needs of minority communities."

Director Pragna Patel told HOPE not hate the campaign to end violence against women is needed now more than ever.

"It feels like we've gone more backwards as a society. When we first started there was the hope that things could change. Whether it's government austerity or the increasing rise of religion it's hard to say. When we operated in the late '70s and '80s there was still had a legal aid system. Now that has been decimated and it has immediate consequences," she said.

"Society is divided by the rise in racism and communities are divided along religious lines. And women do bear the brunt because what we are talking about is women who are increasingly vulnerable and isolated."

Pragna says Southall Black Sisters (SBS) has always been "demand led" in that the issues it campaigns on – an end to domestic violence, providing safe havens for women, fighting for changes in the law – have come from women themselves.

It runs an advice, advocacy and resource centre in west London which provides a comprehensive service to women experiencing violence and abuse and other forms of inequality. Specialist advice, information, casework, advocacy, counselling and self-help support services are offered and while SBS naturally focuses on the needs of black and minority women, it does not turn any women who need emergency help.

High-profile campaigns have included trying to abolish the 'no recourse to public funds requirement', which SBS sees as discriminatory rules affecting women with insecure immigration status in the UK who are trapped in situations of domestic violence. The rules are aimed at preventing people from abroad from entering the UK and settle permanently through marriage. SBS say the law has caused "untold misery" to thousands of women.

Pragna added: "Black and minority ethnic women often felt like they were left out of the equation, so in the beginning the aim was to come together and look at how we can determine our own issues and campaign within the community, and to make the point that racism and gender oppression are both very critical strands that shape our experiences as women in the UK."

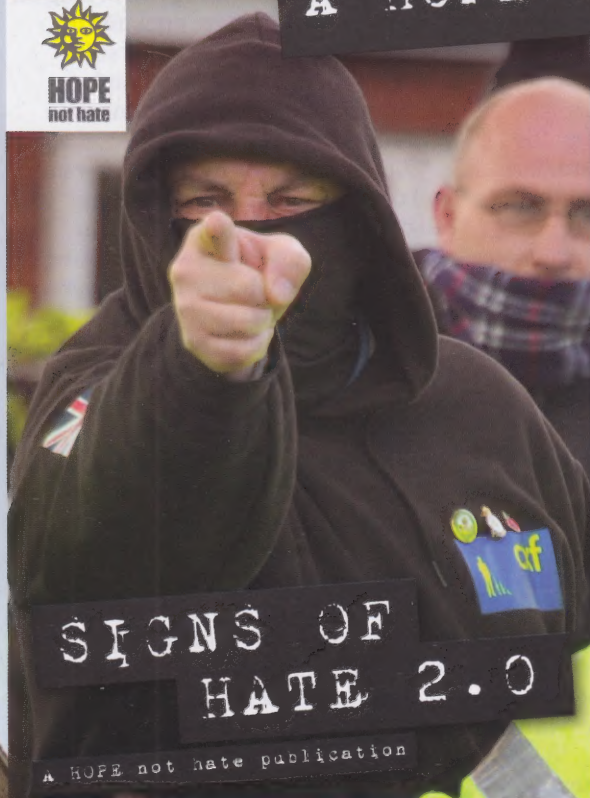
■ [www.southallblacksisters.org.uk](http://www.southallblacksisters.org.uk)





# SIGNS OF HATE 2.0

A HOPE not hate publication



Secrets and Lies: The workings of the far-right exposed. The symbols, the language, the ideology and the recent history of the far-right explored with many myths busted and lies exposed. Signs of Hate explores a world of hate for those who need to tackle far-right extremism. Also includes a chapter of "Jihadists".

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